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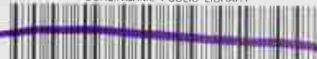
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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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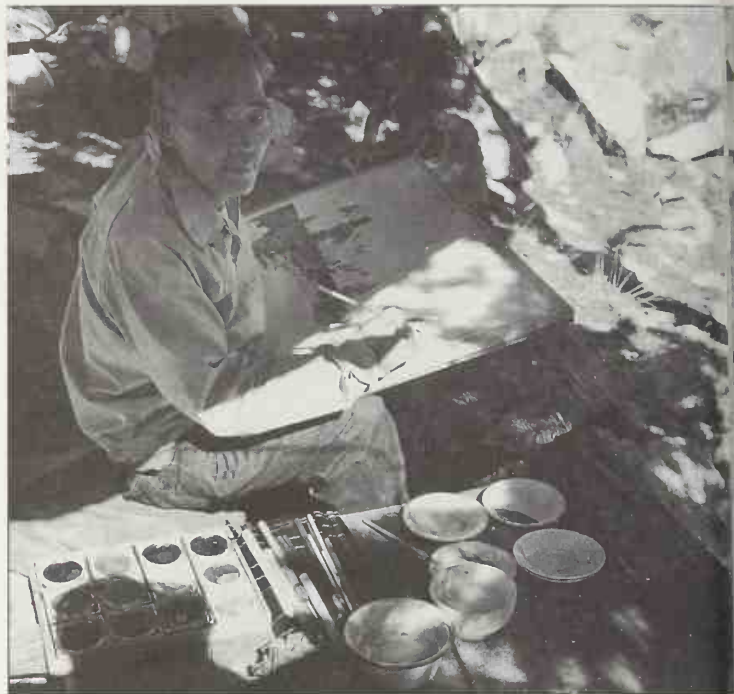
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Chiura Obata, 1885–1975

Born in Sendai, Japan, Chiura Obata immigrated to San Francisco in 1903. After the formation of the East West Art Society in 1921, Obata, who had supported himself primarily as an illustrator for Japanese language publications, became actively engaged with contemporary California artists and patrons. He also maintained significant contacts with the Japanese American intellectual community in the Bay Area, and regularly welcomed artists and cultural leaders from Japan to his home. Obata influenced northern California art both through his sumi paintings and watercolors, which are credited with stimulating an appreciation of watercolor, and by introducing students to freehand painting techniques during his thirty-year teaching career at the University of California at Berkeley.

One of Obata's recurring themes was Yosemite, which he first visited in the company of artist Worth Ryder during the summer of 1927. Obata undertook his initial journey to Yosemite determined to produce a body of work that would prove his stature as an artist. He began making pencil drawings, sumi paintings, and watercolors from the outset, and devoted long hours to his work. Obata also had a profound response to the landscape. His letters enthusiastically described White Wolf, Tuolumne Meadows, and Mono Lake, and he later recalled the trip as "the greatest harvest for my whole life and future in painting." Ironically, Obata's visit occurred when Yosemite was receiving increasing public attention (coinciding with the opening of the High Sierra camps and the Ahwahnee Hotel), but decreasing interest as a subject for artists. Indeed, his Japanese upbringing and training allowed Obata to produce a fresh vision of Yosemite, unencumbered by the well-known views recorded by nineteenth-century artists.

Obata's Yosemite drawings and paintings were featured in his first one-person exhibition, in San Francisco the following spring. Perhaps his continuing contacts with Japan led him to conceive the Yosemite watercolors for translation as woodblock prints, a practice for which there were precedents in Japan. In any case, the death of his father in 1928 precipitated Obata's return to Japan, where he contracted to have thirty-five paintings, mostly Yosemite and High Sierra scenes, reproduced in a print portfolio. Utilizing the expertise of Japanese craftsmen, Obata's project was technically challenging; each image required over one hundred printings and specially-made paper to withstand repeated dampening. In all, over seventy woodblock carvers and printers were engaged on the portfolio for some eighteen months. The results were a stunning series of prints that showed both the topography and the moods of Yosemite Valley and the surrounding High Country and



Chiura Obata at work during a Yosemite excursion. Sierra Club Pictorial Collections, Bancroft Library.

established Obata as "the first artist who has taken California subjects for genuine Japanese woodblocks." The exhibition of these prints throughout northern California in the early 1930s brought Obata considerable critical acclaim and enhanced his recognition as one of the many Asian American artists who contributed to modern art in California (among them Yun Gee, George Hibi, Dong Kingman, and Miné Okubo).

The prints and related works from Obata's 1927 Yosemite trip are the subject of Obata's Yosemite: The Art and Letters of Chiura Obata from His Trip to the High Sierra in 1927, published by the Yosemite Association (P. O. Box 545, Yosemite, CA 95389; \$44.95 hardcover, \$24.95 paperback), and including essays by Susan Landauer and Janice T. Driesbach. They are also featured in an exhibition organized by the Crocker Art Museum, which is traveling to the Saint Louis Art Museum (January 18-March 20, 1994), the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles (July 8-October 9, 1994), and the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma (October 30, 1994-January 2, 1995).

Janice T. Driesbach
Curator of Art
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A Progressive Confronts the Race Question

Chester Rowell, the California Alien Land Act of 1913, and the Contradictions of Early Twentieth-Century Racial Thought

by Frank W. Van Nuijs

At every session between 1907 and 1913, the California Legislature considered alien land laws. Finally, in 1913 the Heney-Webb Alien Land Act was passed. Ostensibly designed to prohibit the owning and leasing of agricultural land by aliens who were not eligible to become naturalized American citizens, the land law was clearly aimed at Asian immigrants, above all, the Japanese.¹ No one on either side of the issue denied this, for few white Californians, least of all the progressive Republicans who controlled the state government in 1913, had much sympathy for the Japanese.

Chester Rowell, Fresno newspaper editor and a founder of the progressive wing of the Republican party in California, in some ways typified prevailing attitudes toward the Japanese. For instance, Rowell, like many of his contemporaries, worried about Japanese immigrants taking over much of the state's agricultural land. He diverged from the more strident anti-Japanese agitators, however, in his objection to an alien land law that discriminated, implicitly or explicitly, against Japanese already in the state. Many Californians eagerly supported any kind of measure—from school segregation, to land law, to exclusion of immigration—meant to hurt Japanese residents in California. Rowell, on the other hand, pressed for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants as the most humane way to ease the tension between immigrants and native whites, as well as between Japan and the United States. A harsh land law, in his view, only exacerbated the tension without resolving more fundamental problems that stemmed from the incompatibility of two proud races. As reasonable as he tried to be, Rowell was still something of a racist, although his racism was more muted and less opportunistic than customary in 1913 California. Rowell's writings on the subject of the Japanese in California provide a glimpse of a

thoughtful progressive trying to stake out a moderate position that he believed would protect American institutions and preserve international relations.

As Rowell well understood, the antipathy toward the Japanese immigrants among white Californians was, at that time, deep-seated and difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate. Although the best-known manifestation of this kind of racial prejudice occurred with the internment of Japanese residents during World War II, anti-Japanese feeling in California dates back to the late nineteenth century. Inheriting white Californians' earlier animosity toward Chinese immigrant laborers, the Japanese faced intense racism in their new environs. However, the anti-Japanese movement also had its own distinct character. On one hand, the anti-Chinese movement, based as it was on alarm over wages and the alleged inability of the Chinese to assimilate into American society, had been largely a working-class phenomenon. With anti-Japanese sentiment, some of the very people who had been pro-Chinese—landowners and employers—most disliked the Japanese. Ironically, this is attributable to the very success with which many Japanese assimilated. Their ambition to improve themselves, rising into the class of property owners, alienated many middle-class whites.²

Anti-Japanese feeling in California took two main forms. The first was the attempt by San Francisco officials in 1906 to segregate Japanese schoolchildren into separate schools. An alarmed federal government, concerned that diplomatic relations with Japan would be harmed, successfully negotiated a compromise ending the school crisis. Federal pressure, however, ultimately failed to prevent the passage of a state alien land law, the second major tactic of the anti-Japanese movement. In 1913, Hiram Johnson, California's progressive Republican governor,



Japanese work crew at the Leffingwell Ranch in East Whittier, Los Angeles County, ca. 1910. Substantial numbers of Japanese immigrants started arriving in California in the 1880s and 1890s. Although they often began their careers as laborers for farms and canneries, their strong entrepreneurial values and success at pooling family capital and labor caused many to start small businesses or farms quickly. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Japanese farmers became leading producers of numerous vegetable, fruit, and other crops. It was the growing objection of other groups of Californians to competition with Japanese farmers, as well as their hostility toward the Japanese on racial and cultural grounds, that fueled the movement to restrict immigrant farm ownership and leasing. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

reversed the state government's traditional opposition to a land law couched in implicitly anti-Japanese language. In so doing, Johnson rejected a compromise solution formulated and promoted by one of his few close personal friends and a major advisor, Chester Rowell.

The various land laws introduced in the legislature between 1907 and 1913 can be separated into two broad types. Those supported by Rowell and, for a time, by Johnson sought to avoid offending Japan by denying certain land-holding privileges to all resident aliens who had no intention of becoming American citizens. This approach mirrored alien land laws in effect in several states throughout the country and seemed least likely to bring intervention by the federal government. On the other side, labor unions, small farmers, and their political champions in the state legislature, chiefly the Democratic minority, clamored for a law that withheld land ownership and leasing rights from aliens "ineligible to citizenship," which would actually apply mostly to Asians, since

federal law at the time allowed the naturalization only of Caucasians and persons of African descent. In support of this approach, union leaders argued that Japanese farm labor drove down wages and forced white farm laborers into unemployment and crime. Small farmers charged that land values rose because of Japanese farmers' willingness to pay higher prices and rents.

Both types of land legislation were introduced once the 1913 session commenced in January. In the three previous legislatures, alien land bills had consistently failed to pass. The Roosevelt and Taft administrations had both exerted federal pressure on behalf of the Japanese when discriminatory actions by California threatened to undercut American foreign policy, while California's governors, James N. Gillett in 1907 and 1909 and Johnson in 1911, had cooperated with fellow Republicans in the White House and convinced the legislature to back down. At the outset of the 1913 legislative session, Johnson and Rowell anticipated that the recently



Chester H. Rowell, ca. early twentieth century. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

elected Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, would also intervene in California politics if a palpably anti-Japanese land bill emerged.

At a hearing before legislative committees in early April, the emotional pleas of farmers who testified stole the show. Popular support for an anti-Japanese bill swelled, and legislators responded with amendments that transformed general bills into discriminatory ones. Rather than interfere boldly for the sake of diplomacy as his predecessors had, President Wilson dawdled. Only after intense pressure from the Japanese government did Wilson finally respond through Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, who on April 18 advised the Californians to avoid discriminating against the Japanese in the proposed land legislation.

Although he had once seemed to support a bill that affected all aliens and exempted those who had filed for naturalization, Hiram Johnson, freed from loyalty to a Republican president and anxious to embarrass his Democratic successor, now expressed his support for legislation that limited the land rights of aliens "ineligible to citizenship." Thus, instead of discouraging a discriminatory bill, as he had done in the 1911 session, the governor now sought to defend and justify it. His principal argument rested on the fact that United States immigration laws did the actual discriminating. Rowell disagreed with Johnson's change of tactics, remaining

in Fresno instead of going to Sacramento to aid his friend. "The situation is becoming somewhat acute and I would be glad to have you on the job with me," the governor wired Rowell on April 22.³ The governor's good friend and long-time supporter, however, deemed it wiser to remain at home. Clearly perplexed, Rowell believed that backing a bill that discriminated against the Japanese was "exactly contrary to the entire policy of the governor and the legislative leaders up to this moment, and I have no idea what has happened to reverse their position."⁴

Soon afterward, President Wilson sent Secretary of State Bryan to Sacramento to consult with Johnson and the entire legislature in executive session.



William Jennings Bryan, secretary of state in Woodrow Wilson's Democratic presidential administration, journeyed to California in the spring of 1913 in an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade the legislature from passing an alien land law. Bryan (second from right) is shown here while visiting at the Sacramento home of the McClatchy family during another visit to the state, ca. 1919. C. K. McClatchy (second from left) was publisher of the *Sacramento Bee* and, ironically, an aggressive and influential proponent of anti-Japanese legislation. *Eleanor McClatchy Collection, City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

activity on the immigration question and seeks to oust him in order to make room for his satellite, the Assistant Commissioner-General, Mr. Larned, a program to which the League is vigorously opposed, for two reasons. One is that the League is in sympathy with Mr. Keefe and has confidence in him, and the other is that the League has no confidence in Mr. Larned and will fight his promotion to the last.

In conclusion, the League regrets that it has been forced to call this matter to your attention in the last days of your term. It had in mind a presentation of the whole subject to the next Congress and the incoming Administration, and to ask for an investigation of conditions, the principal ones of which have only been referred to in this communication, but seeing Mr. Keefe assailed almost at the close of his term in a clear effort to entrench a willing tool in the office, the League feels it necessary to take this step. At the same time the League has no intention of making any venal charge against Mr. Nagel, nor has it any criticism of him personally.

Respectfully submitted,
A. E. YOELL, Secretary.
Under date of March 1 a reply was received from the President's secretary, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington.

Mr. A. E. Yoell, Hewes Building, San Francisco, Cal.:

My Dear Sir:—Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 24, and to say that it will be brought to the attention of the President.

Sincerely yours, CHARLES D. HILLES, Secretary to the President.

Meanwhile, the fact was learned from other sources that on two occasions Mr. Nagel endeavored to have the President ask for Mr. Keefe's resignation, but the President declined so to do.

It is the opinion of the League that the charges, whatever they were, could not have been taken seriously and probably were made to embarrass Mr. Keefe and, if possible, get him to resign, in order that Mr. Larned could be made to succeed him, a plan to which the League is opposed as being detrimental to the interests of Union Labor. Happily, these intrigues failed of accomplishment, and Mr. Keefe went right along supporting Labor legislation.

Senator Lodge had offered an amendment to the bill creating a Department of Labor by seeking to change the then Department of Commerce and Labor to that of Labor. Mr. Keefe, acting with Senator Borah, succeeded in having Senator Lodge withdraw that amendment, and both worked in unison until finally the bill passed. Then they urged upon the President the necessity of signing it, which he did.

The League understands that State Senator Caninetti of California will succeed Mr. Keefe as Commissioner-General of Immigration, but however that may turn out, the League takes pleasure in drawing attention to the services rendered to all trade unionists by Daniel J. Keefe during the last days of the Taft Administration.

Alien Land Law.

Information has been received from Sacramento that the State Administration favors the enactment of Senate Bill No. 5, introduced by Senator Birdsall, relating to the taking, holding, succession to and disposition of property, real and personal, within the State of California, and that all other bills dealing with this matter will be sidetracked. The League is not in a position to vouch for the accuracy of this report, but as it comes from a source usually reliable it is probably true.

The people in this city and throughout the State have on many occasions, through the League, insisted that aliens, whether resident or non-

resident, who have not declared their intention, under our naturalization laws, to become citizens of the United States should be barred from owning land in California. This protection is demanded because of the ever-increasing number of Japanese swarming into the rural districts and acquiring title to thousands of acres of our most fertile lands and gradually driving white farmers and orchardists out of business.

At the December meeting, the League, after careful consideration endorsed the Sanford alien land bill, known as Senate Bill No. 27, which provides for the regulation of the ownership and possession of real property in the State of California by certain classes of aliens and corporations. The reasons for endorsing this measure were that, in our opinion, it was the most comprehensive bill presented at this time and the least objectionable to the classes of aliens it most affected.

The people of California take the position that not one foot of the soil of this Commonwealth should be held, either through lease or ownership, by any person who does not declare his intention to become a citizen of the United States. A law to this effect exists in other States, and surely no State in the Union needs such legislation more than does California. It is looked upon as the "promised land" by the Asiatic, and unless an effective land law be enacted these Asiatics will prove the curse to the Pacific Coast as they now are to Hawaii.

As before stated, while the League favors the Sanford bill, we are willing to take the Birdsall bill provided it be amended by striking out the words: "Nothing herein shall be construed, however, to forbid or prevent the leasing or renting of real property or any interest therein to any alien or person not a citizen of the United States."

Your Executive Board recommends that our Legislative agents be advised to this effect, and that affiliated organizations be requested to petition their representatives at Sacramento to do all in their power to prevent a law from being enacted that will permit leases of California's soil by a race which, should Congress do its duty, would forever be barred from these shores.

Respectfully submitted,

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE ASIATIC EXCLUSION LEAGUE.

On motion, concurred in by all delegates present, the report of the Executive Board was received, adopted and ordered printed in the record in full.

New Business.

At the suggestion of the Chair, a motion was adopted directing the Secretary to write President Wilson a congratulatory letter upon his appointment of Mr. Franklin K. Lane as Secretary of the Interior and Mr. William B. Wilson as Secretary of Labor. The Secretary was further directed to communicate with Congressman John E. Raker and request him to re-introduce H. R. 13,500 at the extra session of Congress.

Respectfully submitted,



Sec.-Treas.

A leader in early-twentieth-century anti-Japanese movements in California and the United States was the Asiatic Exclusion League, which had great support particularly from the state's labor unions. Although the organization favored even more stringent restrictions on Japanese immigrant land ownership, it ultimately agreed to support the Heney-Webb Alien Land Act, which passed the legislature and became law in the spring of 1913. Some of the league's rationale is disclosed in minutes from its 1913 annual meeting; from *Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League, San Francisco, Cal., March, 1913*. Courtesy Huntington Library.

Unable to convince the progressives to drop their anti-Japanese land bill in the interests of diplomacy, Bryan then aided the futile efforts of the Democrats in the legislature to block passage of the law. Marshalling the opposition in the capital, Bryan tried, but failed, to prevent a major political victory for Johnson and the progressives. Johnson's unexpected turnabout was the key element in that victory. Strong personal loyalty to the governor on the part of progressives led even those who were uneasy about alien land laws to back him. Also subject to the pressures of anti-Japanese forces in the state, most of California's Democratic legislators, despite the

president's wishes and Bryan's persuasive personality, also voted for the law.

The Heney-Webb Alien Land Act of 1913 passed the state Senate and Assembly in early May, just as Secretary Bryan began the long train trip back to Washington, and it was signed into law by Governor Johnson on May 19. Aliens who were "eligible to citizenship" were allowed the privilege of owning land, which effectively prohibited Japanese and a few other Asian residents in the state from doing the same. In a concession of sorts, aliens "ineligible to citizenship" were allowed to lease land for up to three years.

Observing from a distance the struggle with Bryan and the Democrats, Chester Rowell soon understood the reasons for Johnson's switch. In an editorial published in the *Fresno Republican* the day after the Heney-Webb bill passed the Assembly, he explained his position and interpreted the governor's decision.

We have felt from the beginning that the particular measure which is now to be the law of California was unnecessarily radical. The same result in practice could have been accomplished by a measure which would precipitate less incidental complications. Apparently this was the original preference of Governor Johnson also, but when he discovered that the legislature would not pass a general alien land bill, and that it was a choice between the passage of some bill like the one now enacted or else no legislation, he concluded that a policy of obstructive inaction would not be justified by his duty to the state, or by the responsibility of the state to the nation in its international relations.⁵

For Johnson and Rowell, it was their first serious disagreement, but it did not shake their friendship. In a letter to Rowell on May 7, the governor wrote:

I missed you very much last week. I should have liked to have had you with me during a very delicate and troublous time; but I felt that we didn't agree, and that your presence would complicate the situation. If we had laid [to rest] the ghost [the Japanese question] that has been with us for eight years past, we have done enough.⁶

Rowell responded immediately:

I am particularly glad to know that there is not the slightest possibility that a difference of judgement on a question of public policy is going to have any effect on our friendship, as it certainly has none on my loyalty to you.

You have won a tremendous personal victory, and I congratulate you on that in spite of the fact that my own judgement favored carrying out the policy which I understand was also originally your policy before the situation changed.⁷

An intellectual who preferred to practice politics behind the scenes, Chester Rowell was in general an effective foil for the tempestuous Johnson. Born in 1867 in Illinois, Rowell studied philosophy under George S. Morris and John Dewey at the University of Michigan during the 1880s. He had also studied in Europe and was teaching German at the University of Illinois, when, in 1898, he came to California to assume control of his uncle's failing newspaper, the *Fresno Republican*. Though untrained in journalism, Rowell revived the paper, transforming it into a vibrant and prosperous advocate of reform in Fresno and the state. Hiram

Johnson, on the other hand, thrived on political conflict and had little patience for theorizing. Born in Sacramento in 1866, the son of conservative California Assemblyman Grove L. Johnson, Johnson blazed his own trail as a battling trial attorney and erstwhile reform politician. The feisty Johnson was convinced by reformers in the Republican Party to run for governor against the Southern Pacific Railroad political machine in 1910. His brilliant victory that year ushered in a broad program of reform and started Johnson on his way to a long political career that culminated in twenty-eight years in the United States Senate.⁸

Rowell's idealism and belief in standing firmly on principle prevented him, in the case of the alien law, from joining with Johnson. Where the governor saw an opportunity to consolidate progressive power and throttle his opponents, his ally could only perceive an unfortunate deviation from an original stated policy. Moreover, Rowell had been placed in a difficult spot by Johnson's policy switch, because the editor was also one of three state liaisons to the Panama-Pacific Exposition Commission. Scheduled to open in 1915, the exposition, chiefly a celebration of the rebuilding of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake and fire, depended upon the participation of many foreign nations, not the least of which was Japan. Exposition backers feared that an offended Japan would pull out of the fair should an alien land act be passed. At a legislative hearing on April 2, Rowell had summarized the Exposition Commission's objections to passing an alien land bill during the 1913 session. He had done so under the presumption that he was also expressing the wishes of the governor.

Rowell was not inflexible, but on the land law issue he strongly objected to the use of discriminatory language. As was true of few other anti-Japanese leaders of the day, Rowell respected Japan and objected to unnecessarily offending that emerging power. He took this stand, however, not out of consideration for the rights of Japanese residents in California, but rather out of long-held beliefs in ineradicable racial differences that were resolvable only through the exclusion of unwanted immigration. Aliens "ineligible to citizenship" already living and working in the state were not the chief problem, Rowell believed, and punishing them through legislation served little real purpose. Instead, the fundamental problems of race in America had to be addressed. His observations as a community leader in Fresno County, a section of the state that had a comparatively large Japanese population, and, more importantly, his appropriation of the theoretical and scientific race thinking of the times, influenced his



Japanese visitors to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915, pose in front of Japan's exhibit. The possibility that Japan might withdraw its support for the exposition caused Chester Rowell and other fair organizers to oppose the enactment of an Alien Land Law by the California legislature in 1913. *Courtesy National Japanese American Historical Society Archives, San Francisco.*

long-held concerns about California and the Japanese immigrants.

Since the early 1890s many laborers who picked raisin grapes and other crops in Fresno County were Japanese. By 1913, over 2,200 Japanese lived in the county, which had a total population of about 76,000, and Japanese farmers there owned roughly 5,000 acres.⁹ Although Chester Rowell represented the Panama-Pacific Exposition at the April 2, 1913, hearings, he agreed with the Elk Grove farmer Ralph Newman that California's Japanese problem was "the beginning of the biggest problem that ever faced the American people." In an article written in April and published in *World's Work* in June 1913, Rowell acknowledged that statistics failed to support contentions that the Japanese population and Japanese possession of farm-land in California constituted a present danger. Nevertheless, "multiplied in imagination by the possibilities of all the future . . .," he wrote, "no far sighted man can dismiss the farmer's challenge as a mere figment of fancy."¹⁰

Of special concern to Rowell was the increasing

number of Japanese women arriving in the United States. He believed that, while the immigration of male laborers had been effectively ended by the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, many of the "picture brides" had supplanted men as labor for hire.¹¹ More importantly, "these women also naturally presage a new population of native-born Japanese, who will be American citizens." Wives also meant that male Japanese residents would "seek more fixed occupations," which in turn would create a quandary for white farm industries reliant upon "squatting occupations, in which the Japanese surpass white men in efficiency."¹² As much as Rowell and other



Florin, California, farm family, ca. 1913. Japanese immigrants who established their own farms brought wives from Japan, started families, prospered, and began the process of integrating into American society. From *The American Japanese Problem* (New York, 1914), by Sidney L. Gulick. Courtesy Huntington Library.

observers bewailed the lack of suitable white farm labor, they clung to a theory of "squatting" as a singularly Asiatic ability that larger white men were disinclined, if not unable, to perform.

California's dilemma, as Rowell well knew, lay "in the peculiarly migratory conditions of California farm labor."¹³ The state's enviable diversity of agricultural products allowed for a nearly year-round harvest, with different crops requiring harvest workers at different times. For instance, as Rowell pointed out, oranges ripened during the winter, berries in the spring, deciduous fruits in the summer, and grapes in the fall. Those Japanese not tied down to a leasehold or their own property could, if they so desired, move up and down the state and work wherever they were needed. Rowell contrasted them with the Chinese laborers of the pre-1882 Chinese Exclusion Act era, whose virtues as workers he tended to romanticize. "The one overshadowing contrast is this: The Chinese will keep a contract; the Japanese will not," he wrote in 1909. He believed this was so because Japanese "civilization" was "built on personal honor and loyalty," whereas both the American and Chinese "civilizations" were based on

contract. Translated to business practice, according to Rowell, Japanese laborers tended to break contracts under changed conditions, such as leaving a job in progress if a better opportunity emerged elsewhere, while the Chinese had stuck to a contract even under trying circumstances. Furthermore, the Japanese displayed more ambition in their demands for higher wages and desire to farm independently than had the relatively docile Chinese, whom Rowell referred to as a "labor machine." "The Chinese virtues are business virtues and the Japanese faults are business faults," Rowell frequently maintained. "Therefore, the Chinese are judged by their virtues and the Japanese by their faults." Interestingly, Rowell was not openly arguing against Japanese immigration because of overt racial prejudice. Rather, he muted his racism behind a cultural rationale. "In an industrial system based on contract," he concluded, "the Japanese must acquire a new sort of conscience, or he will remain an industrial misfit."¹⁴

Even if the Japanese could acquire the cultural values that he felt they lacked, Rowell was firmly convinced that white Californians could not be persuaded to give up their racial prejudice. Thus, he concluded, the best solution to the Japanese problem was exclusion. "Literally hundreds of millions of brown men, yellow men, and bronze men would now like to come to America, for the same reasons that the Europeans wanted to come," he asserted in a 1909 article in *Colliers*, "and they are equally free to do so. And then—the deluge!"¹⁵ As an example for those who objected to barring further Asiatic immigration, Rowell repeatedly pointed to Hawaii, where by 1910 over forty percent of the population was Japanese by birth or descent.¹⁶ Furthermore, American racism would likely precipitate more international crises and jeopardize voluntary restriction of labor immigration by Japan. "Then," Rowell concluded, "we should be forced to the alternative of Japanese exclusion by our own initiative, with all its difficulties and possibilities of complication."¹⁷ So, in addition to his cultural arguments, Rowell relied upon a social explanation for stopping Japanese immigration: Americans were racist and unlikely to change any time soon.

A complicated array of themes dear to the hearts of contemporary social thinkers undergirded Rowell's pessimistic cultural and social assessment of race relations. One such fundamental idea was Anglo-Saxonism. Theorists on race, such as New York Zoological Society founder Madison Grant, pointed to America's earliest English settlers, who had supposedly been of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Danish blood, as keepers of the

California State Capitol in
Sacramento, ca. 1920. *Courtesy
California State Archives.*



highest civilization ever known. Self-government, brilliantly advanced by America's Anglo-Saxon founding fathers, had, Grant argued, originated among ancient Teutonic tribes in German forests before making its way across the English Channel. Grant and others feared, however, the replacement of the Anglo-Saxon "native American" by the "intrusive peoples drained from the lowest races of eastern Europe and western Asia." Unless they utilized their "superior intelligence" to counter the lower standards of living and higher birth rates of the new immigrants, the great Anglo-Saxon race would disappear, and with it liberty and democracy.¹⁸

Although predating Darwin, Anglo-Saxonism had been augmented and transformed in the late nineteenth century into a creed of sorts once the evolutionary theory was applied to society by Herbert Spencer, William Graham Sumner, and other Social Darwinists. Christian missionaries like Josiah Strong, while placing less emphasis on Darwin, enhanced the popularity of the American "Anglo-Saxon cult."¹⁹ In his wildly successful book, *Our Country*, Strong noted the love of liberty and "pure spiritual Christianity" characteristic of Anglo-Saxons. Ruling a third of the earth's surface and a fourth of its peoples, the Anglo-Saxons were obviously being trained by God for "the final competition of races."²⁰

During the imperial scramble in the 1890s, armed with Anglo-Saxonism, America joined the rush for overseas conquest. While Charles Darwin, in the words of Richard Hofstadter, "had been talking

about pigeons . . . the imperialists saw no reason why his theories should not apply to men."²¹ If colonial peoples should prove unfit to survive in competition with Anglo-Saxons, then they ought not to complain when taken over and administered by superior nations. "Would not the people of the Philippines," asked the imperialist Senator Albert J. Beveridge, "prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them?"²² Aided by victory in the Spanish-American War, a confident, imperialistic variety of racial nationalism in the United States superseded a defensive anti-immigrant nativism that had peaked during the 1880s and the economic hard times of the mid-1890s. With the problems involved in administering the Philippines and the rise of imperial Japan, however, it was not long before the defensive impulse was rejuvenated. Yet, not all imperialists were bent on forceful conquest. Some, such as American historian and philosopher John Fiske, interpreted the Anglo-Saxon's inevitable triumph as occurring through industrial federation rather than militarism.²³

As evidenced by the intense debate over imperialism in the United States during the last years of the nineteenth century, anti-imperialists certainly did not challenge the assumptions about America's "racial destiny." Many anti-imperialists were southern Democrats who, determined to defend "Jim Crow" segregation on every conceivable front,

argued that governing Filipinos inaugurated a futile and possibly dangerous experiment in trying to teach self-government to a people incapable of learning it. Accepted as it was by both imperialists and anti-imperialists, the Anglo-Saxon ideal persisted into the twentieth century and, in California's case, colored the arguments used by Chester Rowell and his contemporaries against the Japanese.²⁴

One such argument, based on Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, was a crucial element in Rowell's discussions about Oriental immigration. Rowell deviated from Turner, who was mainly intrigued by the end of westward expansion, and concentrated instead upon the frontier as a border between races. If the frontier was to stop moving, Chester Rowell suggested, it should end on the white man's terms. "The frontier of the white man's world must be established some day, somewhere," he declared, and it was essential that it be established on the West Coast, and not farther east:

It will remain the frontier so long as we guard it as such; no longer. Unless it is maintained there, there is no other line at which it can be maintained without more effort than American government and American civilization are able to sustain. The multitudes of Asia are already awake, after their long sleep, as the multitudes of Europe were when our present flood of continental immigration began. We know what could happen, on the Asiatic side, by what did happen and is happening on the European side.²⁵

Like Rowell, Hiram Johnson included an ode to California's "unique responsibility" as a final frontier of Occidental civilization in his opening address to the legislature in 1913. His comments, if not written by Rowell, certainly reflected the editor's views.

Sensing California to be integral to the maintenance of western civilization, Rowell held that "Californians are vividly conscious of their position as the warders of the Western mark. They hold not merely a political and geographic, but a racial, frontier—the border between the white man's and the brown man's world."²⁶

The brown man, according to Rowell, could not be assimilated by a white western society. In this attitude, however, Rowell differed with some race thinkers. The esteemed sociologist Edward A. Ross, for one, believed that any race could be assimilated by another and foresaw "one all-embracing, everywhere diffused, cosmopolitan culture" emerging in the future.²⁷ Rowell acknowledged only the assimilability of other white races and warned that the United States "could not survive" Asiatic immigration. "The numbers who would come would be greater than we could encyst, and the races who would come are those which we could never absorb," he warned. "The permanence not merely of American civilization, but of the white race on this continent, depends on our not doing, on the Pacific side, what we have done on the Atlantic coast."²⁸

Rowell frequently pointed to the racial problems of the southern states and the fate of American Indians as proof that the national experience boded ill for any further experiments in racial accommodation. He, like so many western exclusionists, insisted that Japanese "race pride" pitted "against the white man's race exclusiveness" led to an intractable situation solvable only through the erection of a barrier between the two civilizations.²⁹

Closely connected to the issue of assimilation in Rowell's mind was that of amalgamation, or racial mixing. Josiah Strong had attributed the Anglo-



Integrated school classroom in Florin, California, ca. 1913. Although in many California communities, Japanese American children were required to attend segregated schools, some schools were integrated. The degree of acceptance or rejection the Japanese faced varied greatly from community to community, depending on the nature of their relationship with other groups, their role in the economy, and the actions taken toward them by the communities' Caucasian leaders. From *The American Japanese Problem* (New York, 1914), by Sidney L. Gulick. Courtesy Huntington Library.

CALIFORNIA'S ALIEN LAND LAW, 1913

An act relating to the rights, powers and disabilities of aliens and of certain companies, associations and corporations with respect to property in this state, providing for escheats in certain cases, prescribing the procedure therein, and repealing all acts or parts of acts inconsistent or in conflict herewith.

[Approved May 19, 1913]

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States, except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.

SEC. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in section one of this act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 3. Any company, association or corporation organized under the laws of this or any other State or nation, of which a majority of the members are aliens other than those specified in section one of this act, or in which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may acquire, possess, enjoy and convey real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purposes prescribed by any treaty now existing between the government of the United States and the nation or country of which such members or stockholders are citizens or subjects, and not otherwise, and may in addition thereto lease lands in this State for agricultural purposes for a term not exceeding three years.

SEC. 4. Whenever it appears to the court in any probate proceeding that by reason of the provisions of this act any heir or devisee can not take real property in this State which, but for said provisions, said heir or devisee would take as such, the court, instead of ordering a distribution of such real property to such heir or devisee, shall order a sale of said real property to be made in the manner provided by law for probate sales of real property, and the proceeds of such sale shall be

distributed to such heir or devisee in lieu of such real property.

SEC. 5. Any real property hereafter acquired in fee in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to, and become and remain the property of the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have the escheat of such real property adjudged and enforced in the manner provided by section 474 of the Political Code and title eight, part three of the Code of Civil Procedure. Upon the entry of final judgment in such proceedings, the title to such real property shall pass to the State of California. The provisions of this section and of sections two and three of this act shall not apply to any real property hereafter acquired in the enforcement or in satisfaction of any lien now existing upon, or interest in such property, so long as such real property so acquired shall remain the property of the alien, company, association or corporation acquiring the same in such manner.

SEC. 6. Any leasehold or other interest in real property less than the fee, hereafter acquired in violation of the provisions of this act by any alien mentioned in section two of this act, or by any company, association or corporation mentioned in section three of this act, shall escheat to the State of California. The attorney general shall institute proceedings to have such escheat adjudged and enforced as provided in section five of this act. In such proceedings the court shall determine and adjudge the value of such leasehold, or other interest in such real property, and enter judgment for the State for the amount thereof together with costs. Thereupon the court shall order a sale of the real property covered by such leasehold, or other interest, in the manner provided by section 1271 of the Code of Civil Procedure. Out of the proceeds arising from such sale, the amount of the judgment rendered for the State shall be paid into the State treasury and the balance shall be deposited with and distributed by the court in accordance with the interest of the parties therein.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this act shall be construed as a limitation upon the power of the State to enact laws with respect to the acquisition, holding or disposal by aliens of real property of this State.

SEC. 8. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent, or in conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Saxon race's superiority, in part, "to its highly mixed origin."³⁰ Of course, Strong's Anglo-Saxons were a mixed race of Caucasians—Irish, Celt, French, German, and so on. Rowell also did not quibble with the idea of a mixed *Anglo-Saxon* race, but in other instances he abhorred the idea of interracial marriage. Since 1850, California's Civil Code had prohibited intermarriage between whites and blacks or mulattoes. In 1905, the code was amended to add "Mongolians"—taken to include Japanese—among those prohibited from intermarrying with whites. While unions between Japanese and whites nonetheless occurred in violation of the law, they were extremely rare and, because of the scarcity of Japanese women in California, usually involved a Japanese man and a white woman.³¹

If, indeed, Asians were unassimilable and amalgamation undesirable, the immigration of Japanese and other groups, according to anti-Asian theorists, threatened the West. "Nature erected a barrier which man will overpass only at his own peril," warned Rowell.³² He felt that all races instinctively desired self-preservation, and, in fact, contrary to many theorists of the day, he deemphasized the notion of a racial hierarchy. Which race was superior—white Americans or Japanese—was of less moment to Rowell than the racial purity of either. The world, he thought, "can not mongrelize physically different races and ever after unmix them."³³ At stake, in his view, were democracy and world peace. The American South stood as proof of democracy being subverted by a heterogeneous society in which one element was denied civil rights. Accustomed to frequent predictions of war between the two Pacific powers, Rowell preferred to hedge his bets. To prevent such a conflict, which would undoubtedly escalate into a world war, Rowell insisted that the "two races must be kept physically apart, and that they must seek their ambitions in different parts of the world."³⁴

Another idea popular in the early 1900s derived from a theory of Francis Amasa Walker, the superintendent of the United States Census in 1870 and 1880 and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology between 1881 and 1897. Walker believed that affluent, old-stock populations reduced their birth-rate as immigration of poor and fecund stock increased. Sociologist Edward A. Ross described how such a phenomenon, stoked by Oriental immigration, might occur:

In other words, the American farm hand, mechanic and operative might wither away before the heavy influx of a prolific race from the Orient, just as in classic times the Latin husbandman vanished before the endless stream of slaves poured into Italy by her triumphant generals.

For a case like this I can find no words so apt as "race suicide." There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes.³⁵

Popularized by President Theodore Roosevelt's "thundering appeals" to white women to have more children, the specter of race suicide became, in historian John Higham's words, "a minor national phobia" during the first two decades of the new century.³⁶ No more immune to phobias than those of lesser intellect, Chester Rowell, in a 1906 editorial, combined his aversion to racial mixing with warnings of race suicide:

Castilian Hidalgo mixed with Digger Indian made your servile peon. The blood of Athens and Sparta, mixed with Turk and Tartar, made your track-walking Greek. The original Aryan race, source of all the enlightenment and civilization in the world, mixed with the aboriginal black blood of India, makes your low-caste Hindu. And just these three wrecks of once proud races are being imported, to repeat the same process here. It is the most dangerous possible form of race suicide, and must be stopped.³⁷

Not just "mongrelized" races, but supposedly pure races such as the Japanese presented a challenge to white Californians manning the last outpost of the western frontier. Rowell's beliefs led him to warn against the admission of Japanese "picture brides," the alleged fertility of whom imperiled white civilization on the Pacific Coast.

The fixation of some American intellectuals on Anglo-Saxonism and the complementary assumptions about the frontier, assimilation, amalgamation, self-preservation, and race suicide gave intellectual ballast to Chester Rowell's reflections on race and the Japanese question in California. He personified what historian Roger Daniels referred to as the "middle-class progressive" who "liked to think of himself as enlightened and free of prejudice; yet at the same time he insisted that separate races could not mix."³⁸ The similarly "enlightened" and "unbigoted" Rowell dispassionately noted cultural differences and social dynamics that, to him, suggested the illogic of racial accommodation, and he did not rank different races in an inviolable hierarchy. Yet, there was also a racist Rowell, who recoiled at the thought of interracial marriage and championed racial purity. Like many who opposed Japanese immigration, Rowell made contradictory statements. At one point, writing that "Americans refuse to assimilate with Japanese," he seemed to suspect that they were in fact assimilable.³⁹ Far more typical, however, was a passage in his *World's Work* article in 1913 describing the Japanese as "a polite, vivacious, and delightfully likable people. . . . the bitterest anti-Japanese agitator in



Governor Hiram Johnson signing the 1913 Alien Land Law, which prohibited ownership of agricultural land by aliens ineligible for citizenship, which at that time meant almost exclusively immigrants from Japan. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

California has never once suggested that they are an inferior race. They are of a different and physically unassimilable race; that is all."⁴⁰

In Rowell's opinion, the animus against the Japanese immigrants was purely racial, and he counseled that "there is no right way to stop a race problem except to stop it before it begins."⁴¹ Historically, Americans had resorted to injustice when confronting race:

We dealt unjustly by the Indian, and he died. We deal unjustly with the Negro, and he submits. If Japanese ever come in sufficient numbers to constitute a race problem, we shall deal unjustly with them—and they will neither die nor submit. This is the bigness of the problem, seen in the telescope of the imagination, and is the whole reason for the emotional intensity of California's agitation over a situation whose present practical dimensions are relatively insignificant.⁴²

Rowell, thus, opposed California's Alien Land Law of 1913 because he believed it missed the point. Exclusion, of merely passing interest to a governor concerned primarily with the success of the Progressive movement and his own power, was to Rowell an abiding concern. Land legislation was an "insignificant fraction of the problem," Rowell maintained, and could "jeopardize the far larger permanent responsibility, in which California needs the cooperation of the Nation and the world." For the

good of international relations the American and Japanese races should "stay each on its own side of the Pacific."⁴³

To modern sensibilities, Chester Rowell's views on race seem wrongheaded, contradictory, and self-serving. Yet, within the context and the prejudices of his times, Chester Rowell was a moderate. He maintained that these two races should not mix, not because the Japanese were inferior to whites, but because both races were too different and proud to co-exist harmoniously. And, for reasons of politics and diplomacy, Rowell counseled against insulting Japan by singling out Japanese nationals in California for discrimination. While mistaken in his assumptions about the Japanese assimilating into American society, as well as about other issues, Rowell's moderate stand was an exception to the demagoguery and political manipulation of the Japanese issue so prevalent in 1913. CHS

See notes beginning on page 84.

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Japanese Immigrant Farmers and California Alien Land Laws

A Study of the Walnut Grove Japanese Community

by Eiichiro Azuma

The historical impact of the 1913 and 1920 California Alien Land Laws on Japanese immigrant farmers has been a much debated issue. Some scholars argue that, because of numerous loopholes, the laws had little or no adverse effect on Japanese farmers.¹ Others insist that the laws served as a serious deterrent to Japanese immigrants in agriculture and in fact undermined their economic foundation.² To support this latter contention, a careful analysis of Japanese immigrant sources recently demonstrated the oppressiveness of the laws from a Japanese immigrant perspective.³ Still, the question of whether the laws adversely affected all Japanese farming communities in the same way, or whether they had a distinct impact on each, remains open. To answer this question, more studies of specific farming communities will have to be undertaken, with special attention to local economic conditions that influenced Japanese immigrants. The Walnut Grove Japanese community offers an excellent illustrative example. Japanese immigrant farmers settled in Walnut Grove in the late 1890s, established a unique Japanese-white relationship, and coped with the alien land laws within the context of the local political economy.

Walnut Grove is situated in the Sacramento River Delta. Known as *kawashimo*, which means "downstream" in Japanese, this rural community includes the vast acreage of Grand, Andrus, Tyler, Staten, and Ryer Islands. Preceding the influx of Japanese immigrants, Chinese laborers had come to the area in the 1870s to work on the construction of the levees around the inland islands. With the completion of reclamation, the Chinese then entered agriculture as farm laborers and tenant farmers. White landowners, who controlled the local political economy,

relied upon Chinese immigrants to do the back-breaking work of reclamation and farming, a relationship that set the basic pattern of race and class relations in the Delta.⁴ When the Japanese arrived in the region, they became a part of this exploitative relationship with white landowners.

Japanese Farmers in Walnut Grove

Beginning in the early 1890s, the majority, if not all, of Japanese immigrants entered Walnut Grove as farm laborers. Before long, they came to dominate the local labor market, supplanting the declining Chinese population. Although they initially worked for much lower wages than white and Chinese laborers, the Japanese laborers found their wages soaring quickly as their numbers grew.⁵ For many young Japanese immigrants, working on a farm was not only a means of making a daily living, but also a stepping stone to tenant farming. According to an annual savings plan devised in 1909 for Japanese immigrants, an agricultural laborer could theoretically have a surplus of \$235 in his pocket after a harvest season.⁶ As some in fact did successfully accumulate capital and learn farming methods, Japanese tenant farmers appeared increasingly in Walnut Grove by the turn of the century.

Statistics indicate the quick growth of the new farming class in the Japanese immigrant population. In 1904, the Sacramento River Delta, including the communities of Courtland, Isleton, and Walnut Grove, had 356 Japanese farmers, of whom 254 were sharecroppers and 102 cash tenants. Within a year, the figure grew by 56.7 percent to a total of 558 farmers. Among them were 360 sharecroppers and 198 cash tenants.⁷ Farmers already constituted 20.9 percent of the 1,700 Japanese laborers in the Delta in



A successful Japanese family, the Yoshinos, produced tokay grapes on its farm in Florin, a small agricultural community north of Stockton. This photograph, which appeared in *The American Japanese Problem* (1914), a book published by Caucasian Californians defending the Japanese Americans against anti-immigrant interests, was taken at the Yoshino farmhouse at about the time the first Alien Land Law was passed by the California legislature. The Yoshinos were representative of many Americanized Japanese families whose economic ambitions were undermined by a series of white landowner policies, including the passage of restrictive land laws. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

1904 and 26.6 percent of the 2,100 laborers in 1905. Meanwhile, the acreage under Japanese cultivation also expanded rapidly. In Walnut Grove alone, the Japanese in 1904 farmed 1,760 acres under sharecropping contracts and 250 acres under cash-leasing contracts. By the following year, they cultivated 5,227 acres on sharecropping farms and 1,897 acres on cash-lease farms, a combined threefold increase.⁸

The development of Japanese agriculture in Walnut Grove coincided with the cultivation of asparagus, in which Hotta Kamajirō was the central figure. Born in the Saori district of Aichi Prefecture in 1876, Hotta was influenced by the emigration fever then sweeping his home region, and at age seventeen he obtained consent from his parents to go to the United States. After working at a nursery in Acampo for two years, he went for the first time to Walnut Grove, where he worked as a farm laborer. It was at this time that Hotta recognized that farming in the Delta was highly profitable. Yet, without sufficient financial resources to lease land on his own, he continued to work hard at various jobs—operating a boarding-house in Sacramento, labor contracting, and running

a Japanese noodle shop in San Francisco. In 1904, as a cash tenant, he finally started three farms with other Aichi-born immigrants on 230 acres on Victoria Island, 100 acres on Bradford Island, and 250 acres on Tyler Island. The two ventures in the San Joaquin River Delta were disappointing to him because the 1904 flood ruined the farms.⁹ On the other hand, his farm on Tyler Island proved promising. Thereafter, he settled down in nearby Walnut Grove, marking the beginning of the best years of Japanese agriculture there.

Hotta Kamajirō was the first Japanese asparagus grower who demonstrated the potential of the new crop in Walnut Grove. The exceptional lease contract he signed at the end of 1903 made it possible. According to the contract, he paid an annual rent of \$2,250 for 250 acres on Tyler Island for a period of five years.¹⁰ Unlike typical Japanese leases, Hotta's did not include other provisions restricting his farm operation. Free to raise any crop he wanted, he decided to plant asparagus on his own in 1905. If planted from seedlings, asparagus usually takes at least three years to produce a crop, after which it continues to do so for almost ten years. Accordingly, the operation of an asparagus farm requires a long-term commitment and a large investment. Hotta himself had to grow beans and onions to offset his outlays during the first two years. In 1908, however, he made a profit of over \$2,000 from his first harvest of asparagus. The following year, with the renewal of the contract for another nine years, Hotta further expanded his asparagus farm and realized net proceeds of \$16,000, a reportedly "unexpectedly large" profit.¹¹

At the same time, Hotta succeeded in contracting with the California Fruit Cannery Association in San Francisco to sell all the asparagus grown on his farm between 1910 and 1914. Under the agreement, the company promised to pay \$3.50 per one hundred pounds for white asparagus and \$2.50 for green asparagus, regardless of market fluctuations.¹² Later, Hotta managed to extend this contract until 1927.¹³ Hence, after the initial two years of patience, he secured not only a reliable asparagus crop, but also a guarantee of stable cash returns.

In all probability, Hotta's success encouraged his fellow Japanese to make a similar long-term commitment in asparagus growing as settled farmers. Although asparagus farms had existed in the Delta since 1892, when the first cannery was built on



Hotta Kamajiro, a leader in asparagus farming and a model to other Japanese, shown in 1911. The photograph appeared in *Sakuraumento Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran* (1911). Courtesy Eiichiro Azuma.

Bouldin Island, Chinese and Japanese growers had hitherto worked merely as short-term tenants.¹⁴ Most likely, it had never occurred to Japanese immigrants in Walnut Grove to raise asparagus themselves on a long-term basis until Hotta achieved impressive results. Thus, Hotta demonstrated that long-term, if not permanent, settlement in Walnut Grove was a viable option for Japanese immigrants. Reflecting his influence and assistance, Walnut Grove had a disproportionately large number of Japanese immigrants from Aichi Prefecture—especially from his home village, Saori.¹⁵

Available statistics testify to the sudden increase in the acreage of Japanese asparagus farms in Walnut Grove after Hotta's settlement. In 1904, no Japanese was reported to have raised the crop. Within a year, however, the group's asparagus farms amounted to 1,030 acres, which constituted 19.7 percent of the total acreage under their cultivation.¹⁶ Corresponding to the expansion of Hotta's asparagus cultivation on Tyler Island, Japanese asparagus farms rapidly increased in the area between 1905 and 1910. The 1909 statistics indicate that Japanese farmers devoted to asparagus production 5,549 acres, or

fifty percent of their aggregate 11,091 acres in Walnut Grove.¹⁷ Under such rapid growth, the local Japanese farmers formed the Japanese Producers Association in 1908, for which Hotta served as the president.¹⁸

White Control and Interdependence

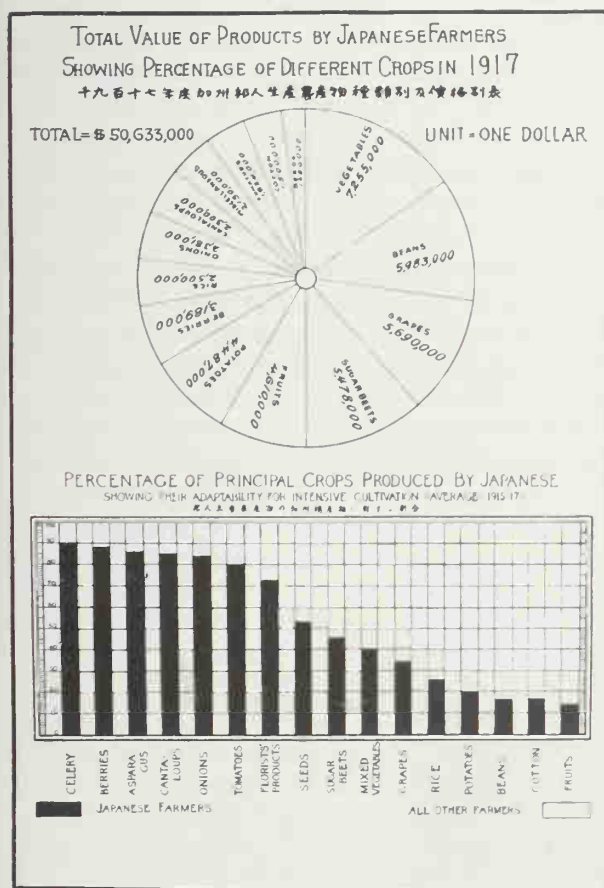
Except for Hotta Kamajirō, the Japanese in Walnut Grove labored under the rigid control of white landowners, and no other immigrant farmers attained as

much success and independence as he did. In the Delta, a handful of local whites enjoyed incontestable control over local agriculture because of their monopoly of land ownership. Forced to depend on them to lease land, the Japanese were deprived of bargaining power and made to work for the interests of the landowners rather than their own. Given such an exploitative relationship, Japanese farmers were at the mercy of white landowners.

Japanese dependency was responsible for determining the modes of land tenure in the area. White landowners preferred share-tenancy to cash-leasing, for it returned much larger profits to them. Under sharecropping agreements, landowners controlled every aspect of farm operations in exchange for supplying land, farming necessities, and financial assistance, thereby enabling them to maximize their profits. Such an arrangement also allowed landowners to dominate the process of shipping and marketing. As the recorded sales contracts reveal, asparagus raised by the Japanese, with the single exception of Hotta Kamajirō, was always sold in the name of white landowners to such canneries as the California Fruit Canners Association and the Libby, McNeill, and Libby Company.¹⁹ By 1920, thus, all other Japanese farmers in Walnut Grove were compelled to be sharecroppers, most of whom had only verbal agreements with their landowners.²⁰

Actual lease contracts demonstrate the nature of Japanese sharecropping in Walnut Grove. From 1903 to 1915, ten sharecropping contracts were filed by the Walnut Grove Japanese at the Sacramento County Recorder's Office. Of them, seven contracts called for an equal split of profits between the sharecroppers and landowners. Two contracts required a share of 60 to 40 in favor of landowners, and another vice versa. The periods of leases ranged from six months to eight years, though no more than three years after 1913 due to the Alien Land Law. Yet, all contracts essentially favored landowners, and each had stringent provisions covering cultivation, harvesting, shipping and marketing, and sometimes even how Japanese tenants should live.²¹ In this respect, some contracts are worth looking at.

One example is the agreement made in 1904 between the Onisbo Improvement Company of Vorden as a landlord and "U. Tsuzimoto" as a tenant. Based on a fifty-percent share of the crop, it required the tenant to harvest pears on an eighty-acre orchard for a period of one year, while the



These graphs, created by the Japanese Agricultural Association and published in *Japanese Farmers in California* (1918), illustrate the multi-million-dollar Japanese agricultural industry in California in 1917, showing the major crops and the percentage of Japanese farmers to other farmers. A comparison of the two graphs suggests that in general, Japanese dominated in production of labor-intensive field crops such as berries, onions, and tomatoes, where much hand labor was essential for crop cultivation and harvest. Courtesy Huntington Library.

landlord provided horses and necessary implements. The two parties split the cost of boxes, crates, and sacks, as well as packing expenses. In order to support the Japanese tenant, the company promised to advance a total of \$300, and in return bound him "to cultivate the land in a thorough manner and to do all work necessary, according to the instructions and to the satisfaction of the first part [the landlord], . . . to protect the crop and handle the fruit or any other crop in a firstclass workman-like manner."²² The tenant was also required to plant eight acres of barley and alfalfa for hay for the use of the landlord. Should he not follow the instructions of the company, it would hire men to perform such work at his expense. Moreover, this contract went as far as to command the Japanese "to keep no idle men around the house and to allow no immoral [sic] characters about the place," which may have referred to gamblers and prostitutes.

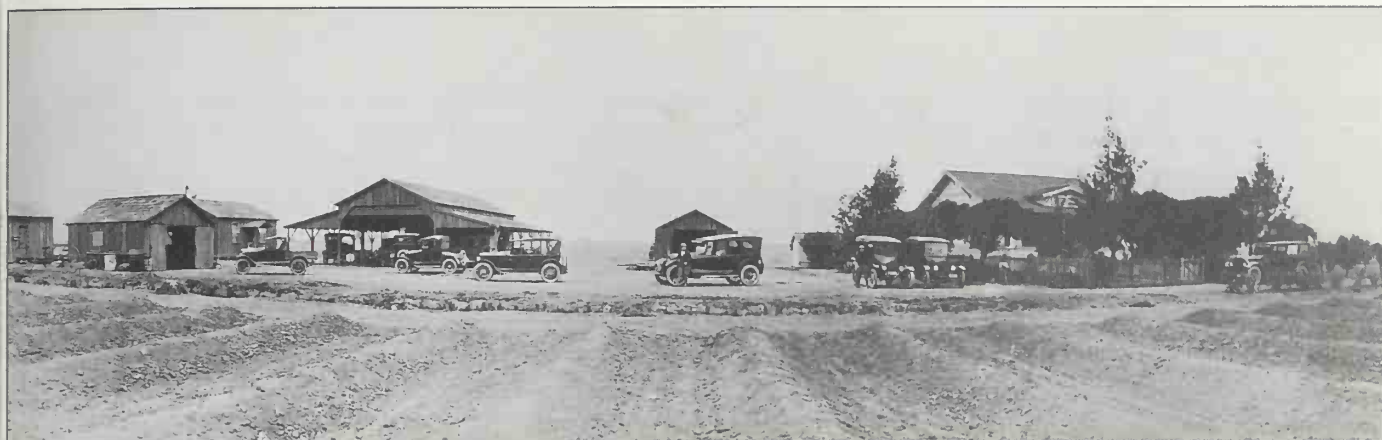
In 1908, "T. Kudow" and H. Okasaki leased a 290-acre asparagus farm located near Vorden for six years on a basis of a fifty-percent share from P.J. van Löben sels, one of the most prominent landowners in the area. The landowner agreed to furnish horses, wagons, and implements, as well as the buildings for the use of his Japanese tenants. Although it is not clearly stated, "Kudow" and Okasaki must have been responsible for providing laborers on their own. Van

Löben sels warned if they did not have at least eight laborers at work by a week after the beginning of the contract, it would become "null and void." Other terms of the contract strictly specified how the tenants were to farm. They required the tenants to "at least cut over the entire fields as often as it is necessary to deliver the asparagus white, tender, and in all other respects suitable for canning purposes, within three hours from the time of the cutting thereof in boxes of fifty-five pounds net of asparagus."²³ The Japanese tenants could not sell their share of asparagus independently, nor could they realize any income until after the cannery paid their landowner.

In one instance, even cash-leasing, which usually offered relative autonomy to tenants, contained the characteristics of sharecropping arrangements. In 1907, P.J. van Löben sels as the landowner signed a three-year lease with G.B. Yasumura as the tenant. The latter was to pay an annual rent of \$600 for a ten-acre orchard and five acres of cleared land near Vorden. The payment was in two installments: \$200 in November and \$400 in October of the following year. Although the tenant had the right to dispose of his crops on his own, such a condition did not necessarily liberate him from the control of the landowner. One provision defined the kinds of crops that he was to grow. Along with fruits, he had to raise



A Japanese pear grower, far left, and immigrant laborers and their children, in the Delta community of Isleton, 1911. In the terms of a typical lease, the tenant farmer and his crew were responsible for every stage from field cultivation to packing and shipping the crop, often following strict guidelines, and the tenant received less than half the profit, most of which he returned to the landowner as rent payment. From *Sakuramento Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran* (1911). Courtesy Eiichiro Azuma.



Walnut Grove asparagus farm, probably in late winter. Asparagus farming was introduced to Japanese in the Delta by Hotta Kamajiro in 1904. Ten years later it was one of the region's leading crops, recognized both by Japanese farmers and white landowners such as Alex Brown as a long-term, mutually profitable source of income. Courtesy Eiichiro Azuma.

"such crops of grain, vegetables, and other marketable produces as may be to the best interest of the first party" (the landowner). Another ordered him to bear a chattel mortgage laid upon all the crops on his farm. Moreover, the landowner was entitled to receive all the proceeds of the crops directly from a buyer. After deducting the second installment of the rent from the proceeds, he then handed over the remainder of the money to the Japanese farmer.²⁴ These terms virtually nullified the significance of the "autonomy" in marketing on the part of the tenant.

What kept the Japanese farmers in Walnut Grove despite such circumstances? The answer seems to lie in their balance sheets. In 1923, a prominent immigrant journalist gave a glimpse of them. Assuming that an acre of land produced 5,000 pounds of asparagus, he estimated that a Japanese sharecropper would have to spend \$67.50 for the cost of labor and \$17 for other necessary expenses on his own during that harvest season. Meanwhile, a cannery paid an average of \$4.50 per one hundred pounds for asparagus, making a gross earning of \$225 per acre. His landowner then deducted \$101.25, or forty-five percent, as rent. As the Japanese tenant would invest a total of \$84.50 in the given season, he would presumably net \$39.25 per acre. Since most Japanese asparagus growers around Walnut Grove held one hundred acres or more, an average income of Japanese farmers would reach \$4,000 if the harvest went well. Though less than half of what their landowners received, it was almost ten times as much as the earnings of a fieldhand working on an asparagus

farm.²⁵ For many immigrants, farming in Walnut Grove could be profitable enough that they put up with the control of white landowners.

From the landowners' perspective, the use of Japanese immigrant tenant farmers was understandably crucial for their economic welfare. The tenants not only brought large income in the form of crop share or cash rent, but also raised land values. In 1917, Hotta Kamajirō described to a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter how landowners had profited from the labor of Japanese farmers:

When Japanese farmers took this river land it was worth \$25 to \$50 an acre. Because of the development we have done the land is now worth from \$200 to \$300 an acre. It brings a cash rent of \$20 to \$30 an acre [to landowners a year]. Under the share system landowners are realizing from \$60 to \$70 an acre.²⁶

In this sense, white landowners also depended on their Japanese tenants, who were a source of economic benefits. Given the dominance of the whites over the Japanese, the nature of the Delta's race relations was thus paternalistic interdependence.

Alex Brown, the most prominent landowner in Walnut Grove, illustrates the relationship of landowners to their Japanese tenants. Unlike old-time landlords who had established themselves by using Chinese labor, Brown's success coincided with the influx and settlement of Japanese immigrants in the Delta. An American-born son of Scottish immigrants, Brown was born in New Hampshire in 1849 and brought to San Francisco in 1866 by his widowed

mother. His initial contact with Walnut Grove began when his mother started to run a hotel in the town in 1879. Brown assisted her at first in the hotel business, then opened his own general merchandise store in 1881, which became a stepping stone to other larger enterprises. Later, he leased and purchased various parcels of land in and around Walnut Grove and eventually became one of the area's largest land holders.²⁷ By 1923, Alex Brown owned 1,200 acres on Tyler Island; 240 acres near Ryde on Grand Island; and 100 acres in the immediate vicinity of Walnut Grove. Of this 1,540 acres, all but 50 acres were devoted to the cultivation of asparagus and other vegetables. At the same time, Brown also leased another 1,200 acres on Tyler Island on which he grew asparagus.²⁸

Alex Brown used Japanese tenant farmers almost exclusively on his land. Japanese immigrant newspapers often testified to the close relationship between the two parties. In 1916, for example, the Japanese-language newspaper *Nichibei Shimbun* reported that a total of 75 Japanese farmers worked for Alex Brown.²⁹ Four years later, the same newspaper also verified that all the farms belonging to Alex Brown were under Japanese cultivation.³⁰ The *Pacific Rural Press* described how Brown managed his asparagus farms in 1918:

The Brown acreage is leased to tenants who occupy nineteen different camps and each with 100 to 175 acres; though 100 acres is about as much as one camp can handle rightly. Tenants furnish labor only, and get 60 per cent of the crop. They sublet the cutting to contractors at about \$1.20 per cwt. . . . Cutting requires about 20 men per 100 acres. Hauling, washing, culling, and cutting to proper lengths requires five men more per 100 acres.³¹

In other words, a Japanese tenant leased some 100 acres from Brown for a 60-percent share, hired groups of laborers, and then assigned a certain parcel of asparagus to each group to cut. After cutting, he delivered the asparagus to a packing shed operated by Brown in Walnut Grove, from which it was shipped to the New York market as well as to the Libby, McNeill, and Libby cannery in down-river Isleton.³² This system worked so well for Alex Brown that it brought net profits of \$40 to \$50 per acre. Since he had nearly 2,700 acres under asparagus cultivation, his annual net profit would reach as high as \$135,000.

In order to maximize his profit, Brown whole-

heartedly assisted his Japanese tenants. Since 1905, he and his son had loaned out personal money, with or without security, as they saw fit. In 1913, they officially started the Bank of Alex Brown.³³ This bank, the only financial institution in Walnut Grove, served as a much more reliable partner for Japanese farmers than a Japanese-owned bank in Sacramento. In 1916, it reportedly advanced a total of \$40,000 to Brown's seventy-five Japanese tenants, accepting as collateral horses, farm implements, and even Japanese government securities, which other institutions would have rejected.³⁴

From Brown's point of view, the benefit of Japanese tenancy was not limited to monetary returns. In fact, his tenants not only grew asparagus and brought profits, but also they developed asparagus farms from nothing. One available contract reveals how Brown used a Japanese farmer for this purpose. In 1907, M. Miyata leased 150 acres on Tyler Island for seven years.³⁵ Apparently, this acreage had never been used for asparagus cultivation. According to the sharecropping agreement, Brown dictated that Miyata plant the crop during the first year and promised to supply seeds and roots, along with horses, wagons, and feed. Until the asparagus matured, Brown allowed the tenant to raise beans, tomatoes, onions, and other vegetables between the rows of asparagus. The landowner's share was forty percent for the first year, fifty percent for the second year, and forty-five percent for the remaining years of the agreement. This arrangement demonstrates how the Japanese tenant played a crucial role in the development of Brown's asparagus cultivation. Indeed, although Brown called himself a "farmer," Japanese tenants actually did everything from clearing, planting, and tilling, to harvesting of asparagus.

The Alien Land Laws and the Walnut Grove Japanese

Under the region's unique tenant-landowner relations, the first Alien Land Law, enacted in 1913, did not threaten the livelihood of Japanese immigrant farmers in Walnut Grove. Applicable to so-called "aliens ineligible to citizenship," the law limited the leasing of agricultural land to a maximum of three years and altogether prohibited the purchasing of such land. Since no Japanese owned land in Walnut Grove, their sole concern was the law's lease limitation. Yet, because of the local system's high productivity and profitability, white landowners

supported the Japanese tenants' efforts to continue farming in Walnut Grove. With the aegis of their landowners, Japanese immigrants devised two effective methods of evading the law.

One method was the joint operation of farms. Right before the governor signed the law, the Japanese immigrant newspaper *Shin Sekai*, citing the words of "a knowledgeable person" in the Delta, recommended that the Japanese farmers of Walnut Grove should lease land jointly with other Japanese partners. If, for example, three farmers undertook joint farming, they could lease land for up to nine years by signing separate three-year contracts that ran consecutively over time. The newspaper contended that this method would be useful particularly for asparagus growing, which needed long-time leases.³⁶ The statistics of the Japanese farmers who came from Aichi Prefecture indicate that many farmers in fact resorted to joint farming in Walnut Grove after 1913. In 1912, the six farms under partnership comprised only 23.1 percent of the total of 26 farms. After the enactment of the Alien Land Law, however, joint farms increased to 18, or 64.2 percent of the total of 28 farms in 1913, and to 17, or 65.3 percent of the total of 26 farms in 1914.³⁷

Another method of evading the law was to use cropping contracts. Unlike a cash lease or share-cropping lease, a cropping contract was generally considered a form of employment agreement. Offering no legal right in agricultural land to a Japanese farmer, such a contract entitled him to a designated share of crops as his "salary." While almost identical to a sharecropping lease in substance, it liberated the farmer from the regulations of the law because he was not legally a "lessee."

(At right): Aichi Prefecture of Japan was the original home of many Japanese, including Hotta Kamajiro, who settled in Walnut Grove or thereabouts. Not all Aichi emigrants to the Delta, however, were farmers. These two advertisements, taken from *Hoku-Bei Aichi kenjinshi* (1920), a history of emigration from Aichi to America, illustrate other Japanese ventures in Walnut Grove and the diversity of ethnic community life there. They include, from the top, the Aichi Company, a general store that carried both Japanese and western goods, the Idota Company, a liquor store, and the Aigi Kwan, whose proprietor, Z. Ishizuka, operated an inn for workers and specialized in arranging agricultural labor contract services. *Courtesy Yuji Ichioka.*

THE AICHI CO.,
P. O. BOX A
WALNUT GROVE, CALIF.
PHONE 276

和洋食料雜貨
日米化粧品
其他一切

愛知商會

加州ウオーナングローブ
(郵函) 五一
電話 コートランド二七六
主人 水谷政右衛門

THE IDOTA CO.,
P. O. BOX 223
WALNUT GROVE, CALIF.

和洋酒類
其他雜貨
いろく

井戸田商店

加州ウオーナングローブ
(郵函) 二二三
主人 井戸田才次郎
愛知縣海部郡
佐藤村大字 16 番

THE AIGI KWAN
PROP. Z. ISHIZUKA
P. O. BOX 83
WALNUT GROVE,
CALIF., U. S. A.

各種農園耕作口及び労働口を
御周旋致し候

北米合衆國加州サンラメント郡
ウオーナングローブ 郵函八二

愛知館

館主 石塚善三郎

One contract recorded at the county office serves as a good example. Beginning in 1915, Kajiyama Kamezō agreed to raise asparagus on a 340-acre farm on Grand Island for the period of *six years*. The farm had been leased by a San Francisco firm from the landowners prior to the agreement. Legally speaking, Kajiyama was only an employee of the firm, but his "salary" was forty-six percent of the net proceeds of the crop for the first three years and fifty percent for the second three years. Like a sharecropping tenant, he had to supply all necessary laborers, while the firm furnished horses, wagons, and tools, as well as his residence.³⁸ Under such a cropping contract, the farmer could enjoy the same economic advantages as under a sharecropping lease, which was limited to three years. Therefore, cropping contracts appear to have become more and more popular in Walnut Grove after 1913.

Availing themselves of the loopholes, the Japanese farmers of Walnut Grove continued to expand their acreage despite the law. By 1918, Japanese tenancy ran to a total of 16,541 acres in the Walnut Grove area.³⁹ Although the asparagus farms, with 6,381 acres, accounted for only 38.5 percent of Japanese-tenant land in the district, it otherwise constituted 53.1 percent of the aggregate 12,000 acres of asparagus in California.⁴⁰ Without doubt, the Walnut Grove Japanese community had become the center of California's, if not America's, asparagus industry by that time. In this respect, the 1913 Alien Land Law clearly failed to hamper the growth of Walnut Grove Japanese agriculture and diminish the economic strength of the Japanese farmers, although it probably made them more subordinate to their landowners by forcing them to ask for the "favor" of evading the law.

However, backed by their increasing influence in asparagus production, Japanese tenant farmers were able to challenge the control of white landowners in the late teens. In order to protect their economic interests against the landowners, the asparagus growers formed the *Asuparagasu Gyōsha Kumiai*, or Asparagus Farmers' Guild, in late 1917. An ever-growing shortage of farm laborers was responsible for the conflict that led to the founding of the organization. With the United States entry into World War I, many male citizens in agriculture served in the military service, leaving behind a seller's market for the remaining labor force. As a consequence, immigrant laborers enjoyed a rapid increase in wages, while farmers had more difficulty securing

an adequate labor force.⁴¹ In Walnut Grove, for example, Japanese asparagus farmers had to raise the daily wage of a fieldhand from \$2.50 in 1916 to between \$3.50 and \$4.50 in 1917. Piece-work wages ran as high as \$7.00 to \$10.00 per day.⁴² Yet, the growers could not pass on the higher cost of labor to buyers because they were unable to market the crop independently under the tight control of landowners. To avoid economic ruin, the Japanese chose collective bargaining.

The Asparagus Farmers' Guild had two goals. First, the Japanese sought to sell asparagus to canneries at higher prices. With the backing of the Japanese Agricultural Association in San Francisco, guild leaders visited cannery headquarters in October 1917 and demanded a twenty-percent increase in prices for the following season.⁴³ However, since their landowners, and not they, contracted with the canneries, the Japanese demand was flatly rejected.

Next, the farmers asked white landowners to raise their share of the crop from 55 percent to 60 percent. In November, two representatives of the guild met Alex Brown to discuss the matter. Brown argued that his Japanese tenants had made large profits during the 1917 season and refused to accede to their demand. Outraged by this response, his tenants resolved to quit farming on his land altogether unless he accepted their demand. In the end, Hotta Kamajirō personally negotiated a compromise with Brown. According to this solution, the Japanese tenants would receive 57.5 percent of the asparagus crop after 1918. Meanwhile, guild leaders also discussed the raise with another prominent landowner, E. L. Shelley, who accepted a sixty-percent share in favor of the Japanese. Other whites soon followed the concessions granted by these leading landowners.⁴⁴

After the 1918 asparagus season, the guild resumed negotiations with the canneries. Although the canneries had raised the contract price between 1917 and 1918 from \$2.75 per one hundred pounds to \$3.25, growing labor costs still ate into the farmers' profit. In January 1919, Hotta Kamajirō had a long talk with the manager of the California Packing Corporation in San Francisco and secured his agreement to a special bonus system. Although the contract price remained unchanged, the cannery agreed to give a bonus of 75¢ per one hundred pounds directly to Japanese growers.⁴⁵ This system was especially beneficial to the Japanese because the bonus served as

THE JAPANESE AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION, ITS AIMS AND ACTIVITIES

(from Japanese Agricultural Association, *Japanese Farmers in California*, San Francisco, 1918)

The Japanese Agricultural Association was organized in January, 1915, at the instance of the leading Japanese farmers of the State. Since then the association, under the directorship of Mr. T. Chiba, has been conducting educational work and a systematic campaign for the betterment of conditions among the Japanese farmers in California. The Association has been giving the farmers technical advice, assisting them in marketing their produce and promoting their agricultural interests. In all these activities the Association has been animated by the hope that the Japanese farmers in California might make greater contribution to the development of agricultural resources of the State. It has received from time to time the co-operation of the Department of Agriculture of the University of California.

Today its membership comprises over one thousand Japanese farmers in Northern California, more specifically in the farming communities along the coast and in the San Joaquin and the Sacramento Valleys.

Its aims and purposes are as follows:

I. To be a faithful adviser of Japanese farmers in California, and teach them American ideals, and thus help promote the agricultural development of the State.

II. To organize farmers' associations in various localities, thus establishing among them the unification and co-operation necessary to promote their efficiency and interest.

III. To promote wholesome home life and progressive ideas among the farmers, and to encourage frugality, industry and economy among them.

IV. To disseminate the necessary knowledge for the improvement of agricultural methods, and thus encourage scientific farming.

V. To study market conditions, to improve the methods of packing, and to facilitate the shipping, transportation and storage of agricultural products.

VI. To establish a rural credit system and encourage the habit of saving.

VII. To assist the farmers in the selection of land and in farm management, and to encourage the establishment of model farming communities.

VIII. To promote better understanding between the landowner and the tenant, and to protect their mutual interests concerning leases, rents and contracts.

IX. To promote harmonious relations between Japanese farmers and commission merchants and canneries owners.

X. To encourage farm laborers to become independent farmers, and to train young men who desire to be farmers.

XI. To assist Japanese farmers in the improvement of their dwellings and camps, and in the selection of vocation for women as well as in the education of children.

XII. To open such establishments as may afford the farmers wholesome recreation and amusement, and to adopt such measures as may promote their health and improve the sanitary condition of Japanese rural communities.

In order to accomplish the foregoing aims, the following methods are recommended:

(a) Publication of periodicals.

(b) Co-operation with newspapers and magazines.

(c) Lectures and public meetings.

(d) Personal visits to individual farmers and camps.

(e) Inviting questions from the farmers.

(f) Examination of soil and inspection of farms when requested by the farmers.

(g) Establishment of a circulating library and the loan of books and periodicals.

(h) Co-operation with American and Japanese organizations with similar purposes, and with the State and Municipal authorities and the State Council of Defense.

an additional income beyond their crop share. The growers, in effect, became much better off economically.

In the spring of 1920, the Japanese farmers attempted to liberate themselves from the control of white landowners once and for all. The impetus came from the growing economic strength of the Japanese in general, particularly the expansion of Hotta Kamajirō's asparagus farm. In addition to his original 400-acre farm, Hotta leased 1,000 acres on Ryer Island in 1917 under a cash-rent arrangement, which he sublet to his fellow countrymen and planted in asparagus.⁴⁶ In 1920, the crop on this farm was ready for its first harvest. Combined with the 5,755 acres of asparagus under the cultivation of other Japanese growers, Hotta's 1,400-acre farm seemed to hold out the promise of controlling the supply in the market. Seeing this as their best opportunity to gain autonomy in farming, the Japanese farmers of Walnut Grove began to study the possibility of establishing their own cannery there. On March 14, the *Nichibei Shimbun* predicted that it would "come to reality before long."⁴⁷

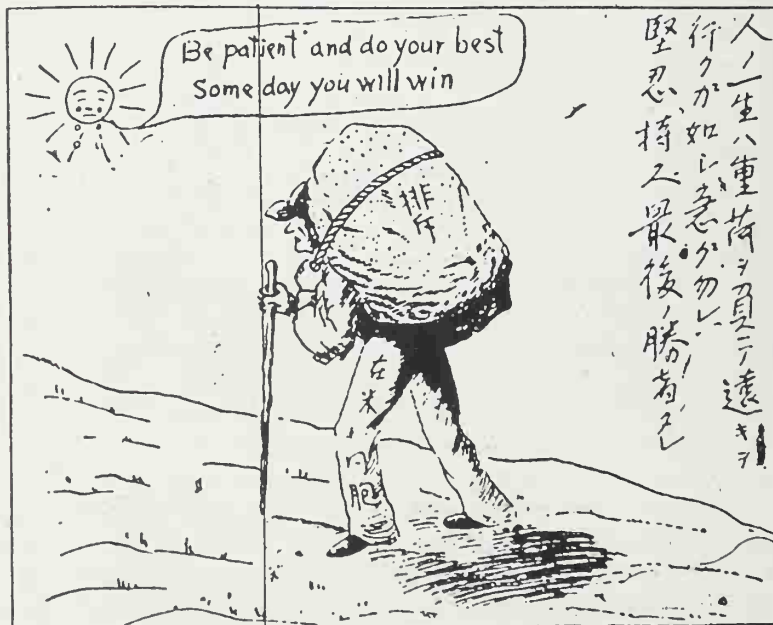
Particularly offended by this turn of events was Alex Brown. Having a vital interest in the matter as the largest landowner in the area, he brooked no attempt by the Japanese to establish themselves as independent farmers. At that juncture, an initiative

measure to amend the 1913 Alien Land Law by enacting a total prohibition on Japanese land leasing had just been put on the 1920 state ballot. This measure offered the perfect solution to the Japanese problem that Brown and other landowners faced. Because even Hotta's farm was still under cash tenancy, the denial of Japanese immigrants' rights to lease land altogether would obstruct their cannery plan and place them under the firm control of landowners. Accordingly, Brown zealously supported the measure to pass the ballot.⁴⁸ As he expected, when passed, the 1920 Alien Land Law smashed the Japanese plan to build their own cannery.

Nevertheless, Alex Brown did not necessarily support what its drafters intended the law to do: exclude the Japanese from agriculture. Since he benefitted handsomely from the presence of Japanese farmers, Brown knew better than to exclude them. He only wanted the law as a means to reduce the economic independence of the Japanese. Hence, along with other landowners in Walnut Grove, he was always willing to use the Japanese on his land despite the law. Yet, by making the immigrants even more vulnerable, the 1920 legislation surely undermined the economic foundation of Japanese farming in Walnut Grove.

Viewed from Japanese immigrant perspective, the 1920 amendment to the Alien Land Law was

On January 21, 1921, this drawing appeared in the newspaper *Shin Sekai*. It depicts a Japanese immigrant farmer carrying a bundle labeled "Exclusion." At the right, in Japanese, is the encouragement offered by the weeping sun. Courtesy Eichiuro Azuma.





Walnut Grove in the 1930s, looking north. In the center of the photograph is the general store, still owned by an Asian family and stocked to supply the needs of the local ethnic community. *Courtesy Herbert Hirotsu.*

indeed a serious threat. With its prohibition of land leases, the amendment was designed to reduce Japanese farmers to laborers again. Their only means of continuing farming was the cropping contract, under which they could remain pseudo-sharecroppers. Given their profitable relationship with Japanese tenants, white landowners were initially all willing to enter into cropping contracts.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, in July 1921, state Attorney General Ulysses S. Webb announced that he considered a cropping contract also to be illegal. In September, he elaborated upon his view:

It would seem that an alien placed in possession of lands under such an agreement would have such rights in the land as are given by the usual form of leasing. Such arrangements seek to accomplish what the statute prohibits without incurring its penalties.⁵⁰

For the Walnut Grove farmers, Webb's opinion spelled disaster.

Facing the real possibility of prosecution, the Walnut Grove Japanese community immediately sought a legal battle to defend their agricultural rights. On September 11, the local Japanese Association dispatched its secretary to the central body in San Francisco to demand a cropping contract test case. Given the legal ambiguity of cropping contracts, the community leaders believed that only a victory in court could save Japanese agriculture in Walnut Grove. Two weeks later, they held a joint meeting with the Courtland and Isleton immigrant leaders and unanimously agreed to press San Francisco for a test case.⁵¹ However, it was not until October 13 that the Japanese Association of America filed a bill of complaint in Santa Clara County on behalf of J. J. O'Brien and J. Inouye, who sought a right to enter into a cropping contract. The slow reaction of the central body so disappointed and angered the people of Walnut

Grove that they felt they should prepare themselves to cope with the issue on their own without relying on San Francisco.⁵²

Other critical issues coinciding with Webb's announcement intensified the anxiety among the people. The majority of farmers expected to renew their contracts with landowners by November.⁵³ If they did not gain a favorable ruling on cropping contracts immediately, they thought they would not be able to farm after the expiration of existing contracts. At the same time, the anti-Japanese activity of Chinese Americans in the region made the situation even more pressing. In the racial hierarchy of the Delta controlled by white landowners, the Chinese and Japanese, whether immigrants or American citizens, were placed at the bottom and forced to compete with one another for limited economic opportunities. Within this oppressive socioeconomic context, a group of American-born Chinese had organized the American Chinese Cooperative Farmers in August 1921 in Courtland "to drive Japanese farmers out of the Delta agriculture at the time of contract renewal."⁵⁴ With the financial support of an affluent Chinese immigrant, the organization sent its members throughout the Delta and distributed to white landowners anti-Japanese pamphlets attached to Webb's statement. The pamphlets warned that the landowners would be fined, imprisoned, and even lose their land cultivated by the Japanese, and they also claimed that Chinese Americans were, unlike Japanese immigrants, native-born citizens entitled to lease land. Chinese American propaganda was so effective at first that in early October nearly all the Walnut Grove landowners reportedly refused to renew their contracts with Japanese farmers.⁵⁵

For their part, the Walnut Grove Japanese



Drawbridge across the Sacramento River at Walnut Grove. In the 1930s, white residents of Walnut Grove began settling in homes that were built downriver from the town's older, central district. This population shift created a pattern of segregated housing that is still generally prevalent in the region, although various community activities, recreation, and civic and retail services are important channels of ethnic interaction. *Courtesy Herbert Hirotsu.*

launched a counterattack. The local Japanese Association printed English handouts that carried their interpretation of a cropping contract as an employment agreement.⁵⁶ The secretary also visited the rural islands to explain the organization's position to white landowners.⁵⁷ Presented with the two opposing arguments of the Chinese Americans and Japanese immigrants, the landowners held a meeting at the Walnut Grove Hotel on October 6 in which they "thrashed out the legal questions and defined their position on the matter."⁵⁸ According to the Japanese Association's secretary, "whites have realized that Walnut Grove agriculture cannot do without Japanese farmers. They now come to us with sympathy and ask what has become of a cropping contract test case."⁵⁹ Because of a growing interest and concern among the landowners, the secretary toured the remote islands again in mid-October.⁶⁰ As a result, most of the Japanese farmers reached agreements with their landowners to renew their cropping contracts for another few years.

In the meantime, the local Japanese Association started a fund-raising drive to support the crucial test case. The secretary visited all the districts of the Delta community to collect donations from Japanese residents: Tyler Island on October 25; Staten Island on October 26 and 27; Ryer Island on October 28 and 29; Grand Island on November 1; Andrus Island on November 6; and the town of Walnut Grove on November 7.⁶¹ All residents cooperated

fully with this drive. Within a matter of two months, they contributed \$1,520, a sum equal to nearly sixty percent of the association's annual income.⁶² On December 10, the association sent the first allotment of \$500 to the central body in San Francisco.⁶³

The test case proved to be a long and difficult battle, and the legal status of cropping contracts remained ambiguous until late 1923. The prospect initially looked bright. On December 20, 1921, the lower court ruled that cropping contracts were not in violation of the 1920 Alien Land Law. Yet, the state of California immediately appealed this ruling and brought the case before the United States Supreme Court. Furthermore, in May 1923, the California state legislature revised the law explicitly to ban employment agreements that granted Japanese farmers such rights as were given by sharecropping leases. Despite this additional oppression, the people of Walnut Grove remained quiet and patient, only hoping that the Supreme Court would eventually decide in their favor. Nevertheless, on November 19, 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the lower court decision on cropping contracts and ruled against the Japanese. The two-year legal battle thus ended in total defeat, and their initial hope for victory abruptly turned into a sense of despair. In the eyes of the immigrant farmers, the ruling registered as a sentence to reduce them to working as laborers.

The prohibition of cropping contracts, as anti-

Japanese exclusionists had expected, inflicted considerable damage on Japanese agriculture in Walnut Grove. Wary of the enforcement of the law, some landowners forced the Japanese off their property. In early 1924, for example, the Staten Island Land Company ordered its twelve Japanese tenants to vacate their farms by the end of the year.⁶⁴ In other places, the immigrants voluntarily left their farms because of a dismal prospect even prior to the actual enforcement of the court ruling. Statistics gathered by the Japanese Consulate show a dramatic decrease of farmers after 1923.⁶⁵ During the test case, Walnut Grove lost only 35 farmers out of 158 in 1920. Yet, within two years after the legal defeat, the farming population dropped by 34.9 percent, from 123 in 1923 to 80 in 1925. By the following year, nineteen more Japanese gave up farming in Walnut Grove. In other words, the number of Japanese farmers declined by half between 1923 and 1926.

Among those who quit agriculture were a large number of "returnees" to Japan. In the summer of 1924, a *Nichibei Shimbun* correspondent observed that "after this asparagus season, there are noticeably more returnees than usual. . . . Unlike in the previous years, most of them are taking their families back to Japan for good. They have no intention to come back here again. This testifies to the impact of anti-Japanese legislation."⁶⁶ This exodus included Hotta Kamajirō and his associates. Although Hotta was the president of the local Japanese Association in 1924,

he resigned and left Walnut Grove in September because "he could not work as a farmer any longer."⁶⁷ Accompanied by three other farmers to whom he had sublet his 1,000-acre farm, Hotta returned to his home village in Aichi Prefecture as a successful man with tens of thousands of dollars. Probably following him, many other Aichi-born immigrants also returned to Japan at the same time.⁶⁸ As Hotta's success epitomized the prosperity of Walnut Grove Japanese agriculture, so his departure marked its decline.

Nevertheless, white-Japanese interdependence prevented the complete demise of Japanese agriculture in the Delta. Despite the legal ban on any type of land lease, the landowners knew that Japanese farmers, whether tenants or employees, would continuously profit them. In order to minimize the negative influence of the 1923 decision and retain the Japanese farming population, white owners cooperated with the local Japanese Association and contributed hundreds of dollars to its campaign to attract Japanese laborers to the area.⁶⁹ On the other hand, because of economic stability and advantage, the Walnut Grove Japanese still preferred working as settled "farmers" to becoming mere fieldhands. Because they had to care for their families, they seemed to have found a good reason to overcome an initial sense of despair and bear up. Although they retained virtually no legal rights to agricultural land, Japanese immigrants believed that their American-born

Anti-Asian legislation in California included school segregation, which affected Japanese children, many of whom were born in California and were thus U.S. citizens. Here, the Walnut Grove fourth-grade class of Asian students posed with their white teacher in a 1933 photograph. Walnut Grove schools remained segregated until World War II, when integration of students was necessitated by a teacher shortage. Courtesy Herbert Hirotsu.





The Buddhist Church of Walnut Grove, shown here in a post-World War II view, served as a unifying center of worship and community from its establishment in the 1920s and remains the heart of the Japanese community today. *Courtesy Herbert Hirotsu.*

children could become autonomous farmers in the future by virtue of their citizenship. To enable the children to do so, they willingly accepted any position or arrangement that seemed to bring an adequate income.⁷⁰ In such a manner, both the landowners and the Japanese accommodated to changing legal circumstances and continued to depend on one another. Although some left, the Japanese community survived the crisis intact.

Three methods enabled Japanese immigrants to remain "farmers" in Walnut Grove. After the 1923 decision, the majority of Japanese "farmers" who remained worked actually as foremen under the dictates of their landowners. In October 1926, out of sixty-one "farmers," thirty-eight were in fact such employees. Although their income was fixed, this method evidently served their economic welfare well. Walnut Grove foremen not only enjoyed considerable monthly salaries ranging from \$100 to \$175, but also they received the annual bonuses of \$2,000 to \$3,000, or about \$20 per acre, for "necessary farming expenses."⁷¹ Reflecting the legal safety of the method, the thirty-eight foremen cultivated 8,470 acres, or 78.7 percent of the aggregate 10,753 acres in 1926.

Another group of Japanese continued farming in Walnut Grove by resorting to verbal agreements. Holding a total of 1,933 acres, eighteen people maintained informal sharecropping contracts with landowners, while two others had cash leases. As nearly all Japanese tenants had farmed under such

oral agreements rather than legal contracts since the 1910s, this method was not a new invention. Yet because the method was now a violation of the 1920 Alien Land Law, landowners could theoretically renege on the agreements for their own benefit. Walnut Grove Japanese appear to have escaped such trouble, however. According to the Japanese Consulate officer, "the interdependence between white landowners and Walnut Grove Japanese farmers was most responsible for the prevalence of verbal agreements. In Walnut Grove, this method is even safer than the use of American-born Nisei as middlemen in legally leasing land."⁷²

As the officer observed it, the so-called middlemen arrangement was strikingly rare at first. In 1926, only three Japanese adopted this method to farm on 350 acres. At that time, most, if not all, of their American-born children were still under legal age. As a result, the Walnut Grove farmers considered it much safer to cooperate with their landowners than to trust some Nisei without blood or other close relations. In the 1930s, however, as the number of adult Nisei rose in Walnut Grove, more and more Japanese farmers took advantage of the middlemen method to engage in sharecropping. One of the oldest Nisei, for example, leased three different farms, in addition to his own, on behalf of his father and two other immigrants as soon as he reached legal age in 1933.⁷³ According to the local Japanese Association report, such arrangements exceeded the foremen counterparts in number by 1937.⁷⁴

Despite all the evidences of continuous Japanese influence in the local agriculture, the 1920 Alien Land Law, nevertheless, left a legacy of stagnation and powerlessness to the immigrants. After the Supreme Court decision, Japanese farmers were never able to regain the degree of economic strength and independence they had attained before. In Walnut Grove, neither the overall farming population nor the acreage under Japanese cultivation showed any growth, and during the decade of the thirties, the gradual decline of asparagus cultivation and the Great Depression caused both figures to drop even further. In 1939, there were only fifty-three Japanese farmers on 7,090 acres in Walnut Grove.⁷⁵ Moreover, just as Alex Brown foresaw, the law permanently placed Japanese farmers in subordination and submission to white landowners by stripping them of legal tenancy. Given the fact that no Walnut Grove landowners wanted Japanese exclusion, one can interpret that the law did as much harm to the Japanese as it could within the local political economy.

In sum, the oppressiveness of the alien land laws is evident, although it was not so extensive as to cause the complete demise of Walnut Grove Japanese agriculture. The unique socioeconomic conditions of the Delta always determined in what way and to what extent the laws affected Japanese farmers. In Walnut Grove, neither competition nor conflict existed between Japanese and white landowners. The economic roles of both parties had been well-defined and integrated in such a way that the dominance of Japanese farmers in crop production actually benefited landowners. Rather than uproot the Japanese from the local agricultural scene, the 1920 amendment reinforced the hierarchical relationship of the two parties, thereby making white hegemony impregnable. None of the law's loopholes enabled Japanese "farmers" to gain any degree of autonomy in their farming. In this fundamental sense, even the loopholes helped to promote the victimization of the Walnut Grove Japanese.

Because of its unique land-holding and farming conditions, however, Walnut Grove is not representative of all Japanese farm communities, which varied considerably in size, modes of land tenure, and crop production. Such variations are important factors in considering the question of the adverse effects

of the alien land laws. A few existing community studies are suggestive. Kesa Noda and Valerie J. Matsumoto, for example, explored the Merced County communities of Livingston and Cortez, in which Japanese farmers had already owned land and which appear to have been affected little by the laws.⁷⁶ Purchasing land by forming dummy companies, a number of newcomers still moved into the communities after the enactment of the statutes. In the Santa Clara Valley, on the other hand, the alien land laws created "certain patterns of land tenure among the Japanese farming communities" that maintained "Japanese dependency" and "underdevelopment."⁷⁷ Yet, due to the dearth of studies of other Japanese rural communities, how the alien land laws affected Japanese farmers in other localities still remains an open question. CHS

See notes beginning on page 85

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Many factors have contributed to the decline in the Japanese population in the Delta since the 1920s. Most significant were the approval of the Alien Land Law of 1920, which placed even harsher restrictions on the rights of non-citizen Asians to lease and farm the state's rich agricultural lands, the Immigration Act of 1924, which banned further Asian immigration to the United States, and the desire of future generations of Japanese Americans to move to cities. This photo shows a Japanese immigrant farmer and laborers harvesting beans on Borman Island in 1911, from *Sakuramoto Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran*. It documents a time of growing Japanese prosperity, when workers such as these dominated the agricultural labor force in Walnut Grove and several surrounding communities. *Courtesy Eiichiro Azuma.*





Members of the first *kengakudan* study tour, above, pose during their visit to Japan in 1925. Their exposure to Japanese people and culture impressed most tour members deeply and gave them an immeasurable new sense of cultural heritage. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.*

Kengakudan

The Origin of Nisei Study Tours of Japan

by Yuji Ichioka

The interwar years constitute a distinct period in Japanese American history, particularly between the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act and the outbreak of the Pacific War. One distinctive feature of this period is the full emergence of the so-called second-generation problem of the American-born Nisei. Japanese immigrants interpreted the enactment of the 1924 federal Immigration Act, which abruptly terminated all Japanese immigration to the United States, as the culminating event in the string of stunning defeats they suffered at the hands of anti-Japanese exclusionists. The newspaper *Nichibei Shimbun* of San Francisco, expressing its reaction to this sequence of defeats, designated 1924 as *yakudoshi*, or "year of misfortune," for the Japanese people in the United States.¹ From this time, Issei leaders and educators, having failed to stem the tide of Japanese exclusion, advanced the ideal that the Nisei generation should become a bridge of understanding between the United States and Japan in order to dispel the misunderstandings that had fueled the Japanese exclusion movement. Such Issei realized, however, that the Nisei had to become knowledgeable about Japan if they ever hoped to serve as an effective bridge of understanding. Thus the Issei organized special Nisei study tours of Japan, known as *kengakudan* in Japanese, to give the Nisei first-hand exposure to the country, thereby hoping to stimulate an ongoing interest in Japan among the second-generation. The origin of the *kengakudan*, and indeed of the ideal of a bridge of understanding itself, can be traced to the first two *kengakudan* sponsored by the *Nichibei Shimbun* in 1925 and 1926.

The *Nichibei Shimbun* simultaneously influenced and mirrored the changing Issei attitude toward the second-generation in the post-1924 years. By the 1920s the *Nichibei Shimbun*, with the widest circulation and greatest influence, had emerged as the undisputed leader among Japanese immigrant dailies published in the United State. It came out in two editions, one in San Francisco and the other in Los Angeles, with a combined press run of over 25,000, and it circulated throughout the state

of California, the Rocky Mountain region, and even in the Pacific Northwest. Abiko Kyūtarō (1865–1936), one of the original founders and a highly respected Issei leader, was the longtime publisher.² From its inception in 1899, the *Nichibei Shimbun* understandably devoted its news coverage to the Issei generation. During the exclusion movement period, it ardently exhorted the Issei to cast off their *dekasegi* (sojourner) mentality and opt for permanent residence in the United States. At the same time, it encouraged the Issei to become productive farmers, to start families, and to adapt themselves to American society. Abiko changed this editorial line in 1924 just as the anti-Japanese exclusion movement was peaking. From January 1924 the *Nichibei Shimbun* began to underscore the growing significance of the Nisei generation to the future of the Japanese in the United States.

According to Abiko's point of view, that future hinged on how the Nisei generation would fare in its own native land.³ The Issei were so-called aliens ineligible to citizenship, without the right of naturalization; the Nisei were American citizens because they were born in America. The Issei were subject to numerous forms of legal discrimination; the Nisei, in theory, had all the rights all American citizens enjoyed. The Issei were entering old age; the Nisei were about to come of age. The Issei had laid the foundation of Japanese immigrant society; but the Nisei were the ones who would construct a lasting edifice on that foundation. Broadly speaking, Abiko perceived the Nisei as extensions of the Japanese race outside Japan and believed that the ultimate worth of the Japanese people as a whole would be measured by the success or failure of the Nisei generation in the United States.⁴ Thus the *Nichibei Shimbun* upheld the view that the Issei had a compelling moral obligation of inspiring, disciplining, and educating the young Nisei to enable them to realize their full potential in American society.

Throughout the stormy anti-Japanese exclusion movement period, Abiko adhered to his belief that the exclusion question could be solved amicably. He never interpreted the question purely in terms of



Abiko Kyūtarō, editor of the *Nichibei Shimbun* and founder of the *kengakudan* study tours. This image appeared in *Japanese American Journey: The Story of a People* (1985), published by the Japanese American Curriculum Project, based in San Mateo, a non-profit educational resource for Asian American publications and other materials. Courtesy Huntington Library and Lily Abiko.

economic competition, political demagoguery, or simple racism, although he acknowledged that all of these factors were involved in one way or another. Some degree of economic competition existed between Japanese immigrants and white Americans, to be sure, but that was not sufficient to explain the anti-Japanese hostility. Occupying different sectors of the labor market, most Japanese were not in direct competition with white workers. Assuming that Chinese immigrants had been such competitors, Abiko believed that white Americans identified the Japanese, wrongfully, with the Chinese, thereby conjuring up a false specter of economic competition. Political demagogues were plentiful enough, but they were offset by other people who were sympathetic to the Japanese. The Caucasians' racial animus toward the Japanese, unlike that toward African Americans, included a white fear that Japanese had superior traits that made them formidable opponents against whom white Americans could not compete successfully. Fundamentally, Abiko viewed the exclusion movement as a problem of ignorance. Americans knew nothing of Japan and Japanese immigrants, and their ignorance lay at the bottom of all the misunderstandings that fueled the movement.

Abiko had an abiding faith that communication and education could dispel the misunderstandings and clear the way for a solution to the exclusion question.⁵

Accordingly, Abiko placed great stock in the second-generation. In order to dispel the ignorance behind the anti-Japanese exclusion movement, he envisioned the Nisei playing a crucial role as a so-called bridge of understanding. In his view, the Nisei had a special mission of promoting harmonious relations between Japan and the United States by virtue of their unique background. Being Japanese by blood descent, but American by birth and education, the Nisei were suited ideally to assume the role of dispelling misunderstandings between the two nations. Abiko was aware that the Nisei had to be educated about Japanese affairs if they ever hoped to be an effective bridge. For Abiko, therefore, the first order of business was to awaken an interest in Japan among the Nisei. And in order to stimulate that interest, Abiko was convinced that the best method was to let the Nisei see the country with their own eyes.

The concept of the Nisei as a bridge of understanding was also tied to another concept: the Pacific Era. According to this latter concept, the Nisei were coming of age in a new epoch. With the decline of European civilization, the Atlantic era was drawing to a close. The center of the world had shifted from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the United States and Japan had emerged as the two



The Abiko family, 1925. Courtesy Yuji Ichioka and Lily Abiko.

dominant powers at opposite ends of the Pacific basin. This heralded the beginning of the Pacific era in which the East and West, as represented by Japan and the United States, were meeting each other at long last. The result of this encounter would be a new Pacific civilization blending the best elements of Oriental and Occidental cultures. The Nisei had a unique role to play in this historic encounter. By fostering harmonious United States-Japan relations, they were destined to make major contributions toward the peace and stability of the Pacific era. Simultaneously, they were destined to be creators and carriers of the new Pacific culture.

To influence the second generation, the *Nichibei Shimbun* started an English section on April 3, 1925. The newspaper had commenced publication on that date twenty-six years earlier, so that April 3 was an auspicious anniversary. In 1920 it had printed English translations of selected editorials and some English articles, but they had been aimed primarily at white American readers. Now the English section was directed specifically toward the young Nisei readership. James A. B. Scherer, the first English editor, referred to the onset of the Pacific era by quoting Theodore Roosevelt in his opening editorial:

The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of the Americas. The Atlantic era is now at the height of its development, and must soon exhaust the resources of its command. The Pacific era, destined to be the greatest of all, is just at its dawn.⁶

At the same time, Abiko and the *Nichibei Shimbun* began to espouse what they called *minzoku bunkashugi*, or Japanese ethnic culture. The *Nichibei Shimbun* claimed that past advocates of adaptation had "indiscriminately" and "blindly" promoted "assimilation," among Japanese immigrants in reaction to the allegations of unassimilability leveled by anti-Japanese exclusionists. As a general rule, according to the newspaper, such proponents had been "people closely affiliated with the Christian churches and those overly enamored with Anglo-Americanism," and many of these people had gone to absurd extremes. In the aftermath of the many defeats suffered at the hands of the anti-Japanese forces, however, the proponents of assimilation were "in retreat" and "scorned" by ordinary Japanese immigrants.⁷ Here the *Nichibei Shimbun* was also criticizing itself, albeit indirectly, because it, too, had exhorted Japanese immigrants to assimilate to American ways. In place of its own past advocacy of assimilation, the *Nichibei Shimbun* now affirmed the value and uniqueness of Japanese culture derived from the ancient Japanese past, which the Nisei had to study in order to fulfill their own destiny. In Abiko's own words, "the second-generation should . . . make it a

point to understand and appreciate Japan and the Japanese people. . . . Through knowing the real Japan and its remarkable culture, they can render to the world an inestimable service."⁸

All of this lay behind Abiko's decision to sponsor the first organized Nisei study tours of Japan in 1925 and 1926. These first study tours originated specifically from his belief that the Issei generation, in seeking to inspire, discipline, and educate the Nisei, should afford the Nisei an opportunity to be directly exposed to Japanese society and culture. In 1925, the *Nichibei Shimbun* described the expected benefits from the first tour:

After the young Nisei boys and girls see and understand Japan, they will become conscious of their own ethnicity and gain confidence in themselves. Individually, they will be blessed with self-assurance; they will become essential links in fostering Japanese-American amity, each in their own personal way; and they will naturally realize what they must do as Americans for America. Of course, it is not possible to achieve everything in a short, three-month tour. Yet first impressions have a way of influencing young people for life. We are confident that comparative good results can be achieved in a short time.⁹

Four young Seattle girls had earlier confirmed these high expectations, at least in Abiko's mind. These girls—Taeko Miyagawa, Tokiko Miyagawa, Sumire Okazaki, and Yukiko Otsuki—visited Japan in the spring of 1924 in a tour arranged by the Japanese Women's Christian Temperance Union and learned that their parents' homeland was considerably different from what they had imagined it to be. "[The] real Japan, which I have seen with my eyes," Taeko Miyagawa reported, "was very different from the Japan I had seen in my imagination. I found that the land of my mother's birth was much better than I had expected." Tokiko Miyagawa echoed her cousin's opinion: "Yes, we have seen Japan and we have enjoyed our trip wonderfully. After visiting our parents' country I'm happy that I can say, 'I like Japan very much.'" Tokiko went on to assert that, "[the] Japan I knew before I went there and [the] Japan I now know are quite different, and this difference is delightful to mention, because I found it a far better country than what I have known." Sumire Okazaki said "this trip has brought me very much closer to Japan" and made her "realize the great responsibility which rests upon us, the American-born Japanese. In our hands lies the power to bring these two nations into closer relationship and understanding."¹⁰

Once these four girls returned to Seattle, they gave public lectures before Issei and Nisei audiences on what they had observed and experienced in Japan. The Japanese Association of America, influenced by

newspaper accounts of their talks published in the *Hokubei Jiji* and *Taihoku Nippō* of Seattle, invited them to California in the fall. The girls addressed many groups throughout the state, speaking in Japanese before the Issei and in English before the Nisei. The *Nichibei Shimbun* was so impressed that it praised the girls effusively.¹¹ These events formed the background to Abiko's decision to sponsor the first Nisei *kengakudan* of 1925. Not by coincidence, this occurred six months after the enactment of the 1924 Immigration Act marking the triumph of the anti-Japanese exclusion movement.

In November 1924 the *Nichibei Shimbun* announced its intent of sponsoring an all-expense-paid Nisei study group that would tour Japan for three full months in the spring of 1925.¹² The group was to be composed of high school or college students selected in a kind of popularity contest on a broad geographical basis. Abiko devised a clever selection procedure calculated to increase the circulation of his newspaper. All *Nichibei Shimbun* subscribers were made eligible to cast votes for *kengakudan* members. Any subscriber who renewed his or her subscription for six months was entitled to cast 600 votes; any subscriber whose renewal was for one year was entitled to 1,500 votes. Any new six-month subscriber was entitled to cast 800 votes; any new one-year subscriber to 2,000. The voting period ran for three months from November 10, 1924, to February 10, 1925. Nisei who received the highest number of votes became members of the study group.

Eventually, eleven Nisei were selected through this unusual selection process (see Figure 1).¹³ These eleven Nisei comprised a diverse lot. The girls outnumbered the boys by six to five. All were high school graduates; five were university students. Fluency in the Japanese language varied considerably from individual to individual. Margaret Shizuko Tan, the most Americanized, knew very little Japanese, while

Hisako Fujii and Grace Kunie Umezawa, who happened to be first cousins, could speak, read, and write Japanese. A Hawaii-born Nisei, George Isaji Okimoto was the oldest and most capable public speaker while Sanae Nakashima of Stockton was the youngest. The eleven *kengakudan* members represented various Japanese immigrant communities in California, Utah, and Colorado. Their parents' place of origin in Japan varied greatly—three members traced their origin to Kumamoto Prefecture, two to Fukuoka Prefecture, and one each to Kagoshima, Nagano, Niigata, Hiroshima, and Ehime prefectures. The students were all urbanites, except Thomas Tsutomu Kurihara, who was a son of an Oxnard farmer.¹⁴

Yukiko Furuta had an especially interesting background. Before the well-known incident surrounding John Aiso at Le Conte Junior High in Hollywood, she was at the center of an earlier controversy. In the fall of 1922 Aiso had been elected student body president, but removed from office because of his race. In December 1921, Furuta, on the basis of her high scholastic achievements, was selected by the principal and faculty to be the January 1922 class valedictorian at Oakland High School. On learning of her selection, a group of white students petitioned the Oakland superintendent of education to disqualify her as the class valedictorian. The issue of race was central, although the disaffected students denied it. In any event, Furuta found herself suddenly at the center of a raging controversy not of her own making.¹⁵ Much to their credit, Oakland High School officials refused to buckle under the pressure exerted by the students and permitted Furuta to deliver her valedictorian address. Since this incident generated considerable publicity, Furuta became a cause célèbre and source of immense pride among the Issei in the Oakland-San Francisco area. Indeed, the *Nichibei Shimbun* proudly reported that she delivered her speech, entitled "American Education: An Appreciation," "forcefully" and that she received "a standing ovation" after she finished it.¹⁶ The notoriety Furuta enjoyed no doubt explains in large measure why the East Bay Japanese community cast so many votes in her favor.

The *Nichibei Shimbun* gave wide publicity to the 1925 *kengakudan*. In sending off the group, it editorially declared:

Japanese American citizens have the important and lofty mission of contributing to Japanese-American amity by deepening American understanding of Japan and the Japanese. This mission transcends individual lines of work. Whether called a mission or destiny, it is something with which the Nisei is born. And to fulfill that mission, every Japanese American must have a sound understanding of Japan and the Japanese. Such an understanding can be

Figure 1: Nisei selected for the 1925 *kengakudan*.

Name	Hometown	Total Votes
Grace Kunie Umezawa	Los Angeles	1,801,704
Yukiko Furuta	Oakland	1,740,313
Margaret Shizuko Tan	San Francisco	1,723,696
Sanae Nakashima	Stockton	1,560,534
Hisako Fujii	Alameda	1,431,345
Clarence Yoneo Arima	Salt Lake City	1,365,190
Shizume Sakamoto	Los Angeles	1,358,918
Thomas Tsutomu Kurihara	Oxnard	1,355,348
Frank Yoneto Kataoka	Los Angeles	1,109,259
George Isaji Okimoto	Denver	789,662
Norman Takashi Kobayashi	Fresno	577,471



第二回母國見學團
團長兼監督
安孫子

桑港 羅府
日本見學團趣意

及布哇を合せて十數萬に達しました。是等第二世の大部分は所謂日系市民でありまして、追々市民としての政治上の權利を行使し諸種の活動なすべく年齢に到達しつつありますが、既に人種を異にし、文明を異にする兩親を持つ以上、假令市民であつても、或る程度まで、「第一世」と同じ様な特殊の境遇に置かれることを思ひます。そして若しも此等第二世が其の父の國、母の國の偉大なる文化を理解せず、民族的誇許を持たないならば、自ら恃む所無くして、日本人種たることを愧ずるに至り、其の結果墮落と自暴自棄の深淵に陥るやも計られせん。此の點から見て第二世の日本研究の重要な言説を越えて居ます。

二、人類活動の中心舞臺が、曾て地中海より大西洋に移つた如く、今や大西洋より太平洋へと推移しつつあり文明論者は説いて居ますが、此の太平洋を中にして對峙する有力國は言が日本帝國と北米合衆國であります。而して前者は東洋文明を代表し後者は西歐文明の保護者を以つて任じ、一つは有色人種の指導的地位に在り、他は所謂白色人種の代表者と目されて居ます。此の兩者の争闘は人類の大機軸を意味し、協

The statement of purpose for the *kengakudan*, reproduced here from an original tour brochure, was written by Mrs. Abiko Yonako, also shown above. She accompanied the tour members to Japan and held classes aboard ship to instruct the group in such areas as language and etiquette. Courtesy the author.

acquired by seeing Japan at first-hand, by listening to accurate accounts, and by systematic study. In this sense, study tours of Japan are extremely significant.¹⁷

Mrs. Abiko Yonako (1880–1944), wife of Abiko Kyūtarō, served as the chaperon-leader of the *kengakudan*. She also acted as a surrogate mother figure for the young *kengakudan* members. Mrs. Abiko had a very unusual background. She was a younger sister of Tsuda Umeko, founder of Tsuda College of Tokyo (initially known as Joshi Eigaku Juku), famous for its education in English literature and the English language. As a graduate of a private Methodist Mission School, the Peeresses' School, and Tsuda College itself, Mrs. Abiko was a highly educated Issei woman with a fluent command of English. Indeed, she had achieved fluency well before her marriage to Abiko Kyūtarō in 1909.¹⁸

Mrs. Abiko was mindful of a negative stereotype of the Nisei among people in Japan, traceable to an unfavorable image of the Issei generation itself dating back to the beginning of Japanese emigration in the late nineteenth century. Prejudiced by class bias, outright ignorance, or both, some Japanese in Japan believed that the Issei represented the dregs of Japanese society. And because of this alleged lower-class origin of the Issei generation, such Japanese

automatically presumed all Issei to be hopelessly uneducated and uncouth, and therefore even blamed them—at least initially—for the emergence of anti-Japanese hostility among white Americans. The Issei, it was claimed, had aroused that hostility through their own misconduct in America. The offspring of the Issei, referred to pejoratively as *imin no ko*, or children of immigrants, were considered no better. In fact, as an extension of the negative stereotype of the Issei generation, the Nisei were perceived as equally, if not more, uneducated and uncouth.

To avoid reinforcing the negative image of the Nisei, Mrs. Abiko diligently taught the *kengakudan* members lessons in Japanese social etiquette, Japanese social customs, and Japanese polite language. Every morning en route to Japan, she held classes aboard ship. According to one member, Mrs. Abiko admonished the *kengakudan* members that they must not come across as *imin no ko* during their stay in Japan.¹⁹ Contrary to the negative stereotype, they had to impress the Japanese people that they were an educated group by speaking polite Japanese, by behaving in a “proper” manner, and by scrupulously observing Japanese social customs. Mrs. Abiko also stressed the paramount importance of strict observance of social hierarchy based upon class, age, and gender in interacting with the Japanese people.

In a speech delivered in English during the 1925 tour, Mrs. Abiko clearly expressed the purpose of the *kengakudan*. She said:

The United States and Japan, facing each other across this great ocean, have the important mission of promoting peace and amity among the Pacific countries. I humbly believe that you who have been working for the furtherance of peace will be interested in my party. We are not mere sightseers, we have come with the serious purpose of studying the country of our ancestors. Probably for the first time a group of Japanese students, American born of Japanese descent, is visiting Japan for the express purpose of building themselves into a bridge between the two countries.²⁰

Later, in another English speech, Mrs. Abiko, recalled what she and her husband had envisioned in organizing the *kengakudan*:

As my husband and I watched thousands of Japanese children growing up in America and becoming ready to take their places as American citizens, we wondered what their peculiar contribution to American life should be. Naturally, being born and raised in America, they should be able to contribute what every other citizen can contribute, but above that, we felt that they had the God given opportunity of introducing the best parts of their ancient heritage.

Now we realized that these children could not make this best and important contribution because



Kengakudan tour members visited major cities and important cultural sites. Here, the 1925 tour group poses before Japan's Inari Shrine. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.

they were so thoroughly Americanized that they no longer knew eastern culture. Thus they were not able to make any worthwhile contribution to American life, or act as bridges of peace and understanding between our two countries as only they could have done. However, with the training of their Japanese fathers and mothers in their homes, we felt that they would quickly understand and appreciate the best in the Orient if only they were given the opportunity of coming into contact with their forefather's culture.²¹

The 1925 *kengakudan* traveled first class en route to and from Japan and while on tour in the country. In Tokyo they stayed near Tokyo Station at the Marunouchi Hotel, then a brand new, first class, modern facility. Because Abiko Kyūtarō and his wife had close personal ties with many prominent Japanese, the *kengakudan* had entry into Japanese upper-class society and access to places normally closed to ordinary visitors. Consequently, the *kengakudan* members literally saw Japanese society from the top down. Abiko Kyūtarō had personally asked Viscount Shibusawa Eiichi to assist the visitors. In a letter to Shibusawa, Abiko noted that "the American-born Nikkei citizens were the key to the solution of future Japanese-American issues and that it was essential to expose these young boys and girls to the culture and scenic beauty of their ancestral land."²² A leading figure in Japan's financial circles, Shibusawa had worked for better Japanese-American relations

during the anti-Japanese exclusion period and was aware of Japanese immigrants and their American-born children.

Shibusawa himself believed that the Nisei generation should be educated to serve as a bridge of understanding between Japan and the United States. At a reception held in his private residence for the *kengakudan*, he reportedly "emphasized especially the responsibility resting on second-generation Japanese in America to bring about a real understanding between the two countries and thus secure permanent peace in the Pacific."²³ And in order to make their tour of Japan as meaningful as possible, Shibusawa assisted in opening many doors for the young travelers. While in Tokyo itself, they were received by high Japanese government officials, including Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijūrō, members of both houses of the Japanese Diet, and the American ambassador to Japan. They were also received by officials of the Yokohama Specie Bank and Sumitomo Bank, by Asano Sōichirō, president of the Oriental Steamship Company, and by many other prominent persons. In addition to making the usual round of tourist sights in the Tokyo area, they were allowed to see the Imperial Palace, and they paid calls on the Tokyo metropolitan daily newspapers and other publications. Besides Tokyo, they visited Yokohama, Kamakura, Nikko, Sendai, Nagoya, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Okayama, Hiroshima, and Kyushu.²⁴ Only

ne unfortunate event marred the study tour. Shortly after arriving, Shizume Sakamoto of Los Angeles became ill and had to be sent home early.

In welcoming back the 1925 *kengakudan*, the *Yichibei Shimbun* editorially expressed its expectations of the young returnees:

Born in America, educated in American schools, and raised in an American environment, the Nisei are American citizens who fully understand the United States. At the same time, they have the potential of understanding Japan because they possess an "Oriental sensibility" rooted in their racial background. There is no question that the Nisei can promote understanding of the Orient among Americans and that they have the enormous potential of becoming a great bridge between Japan and the United States. If the returning *kengakudan* members do something in the near future towards the realization of this enormous potential, the main goal of our newspaper will have been attained.²⁵

As soon as the *kengakudan* members returned, they immediately embarked on speaking tours of local Japanese communities throughout California and elsewhere. Each member spoke on different topics relating to their experience in Japan; and if their command of the Japanese language was sufficient, they presented their talks in Japanese before the Issei. In

San Francisco, on June 27, 1925, Abiko Kyūtarō himself presided over a meeting at which the returnees spoke. Hisako Fujii spoke in Japanese on "A Day in the Nishi-Hongwanji," Margaret Shizuko Tan on "The Religious Movement in Japan," George Isaji Okimoto on "The Ancient Civilization of Japan," Yukiko Furuta on her overall impressions of Japan, and Grace Umezawa on "Thoughts on the Conclusion of the Kengaku Dan Trip."²⁶

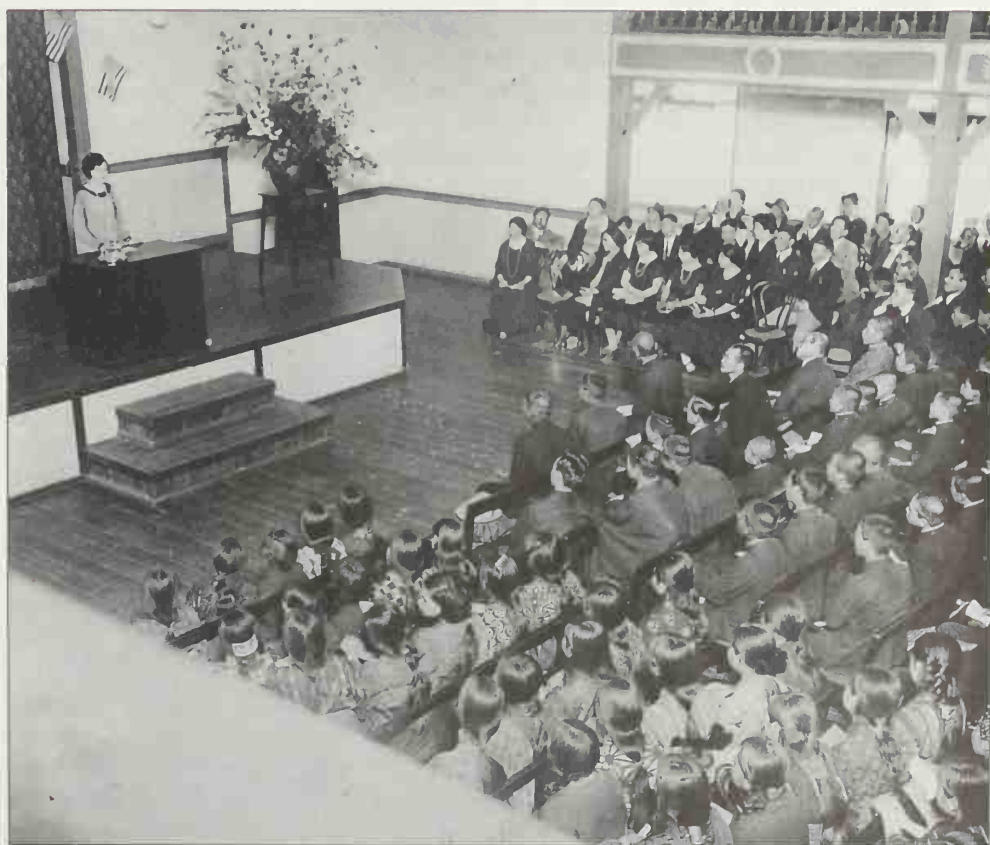
In writing of his speaking tour in Idaho and Utah, Clarence Arima wrote:

I made my first Japanese speech yesterday at a gathering of Japanese people in this district (Burley, Idaho). Talked to them for practically one hour and a half concerning our whole trip to Japan. They were certainly glad to have the information, even if it was delivered in broken Japanese. Many were surprised at my radical improvement in being able to speak so fluently. They marvelled at what the trip had accomplished for me. At Salt Lake City, too, they wish me to speak in Japanese; I have consented, providing they allow me the privilege to speak to the . . . American born in English separately.

Continuing, Arima explained what the tour had personally meant to him:

This trip has certainly been a great teacher to me, not only in traveling experiences, but socially and

When they returned to the United States, many of the *kengakudan* tour members' experiences were published. Some also spoke publicly, sharing impressions and insights from the trip and encouraging others to participate in future tours. Margaret Tan, right, also addressed an audience of students in Japan during the 1922 tour. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.



psychologically as well. The friends I have made alone more than doubly repay me for the long journey I took. Of course, we all looked forward to a pleasant and joyful voyage, and received it—but, on top of this, I believe there has been a bigger and broader realization awakened in every member's heart. Before going to Japan, what facts did we have in our minds concerning our intimate relations with her? Very few; but now—why, our brains are overflowing with them. A few years ago I realized the fact that it was the duty of the second generation to build up and keep tight the bonds of friendship between America and Japan, but never before has this fact been brought to light more impressively than it has since my journey in the past few months.²⁷

The success of the first *kengakudan* prompted the *Nichibei Shimbun* to sponsor a second tour. In announcing its plans, it said that "the first *kengakudan* had been an unparalleled success, due in no small measure to the enormous support and cooperation it had received from the public."²⁸ The 1926 tour members were to be selected by *Nichibei Shimbun* subscribers under identical rules as those used to pick the 1925 members. The voting period this time extended from September 21, 1925, to January 31, 1926. Any seventeen to twenty-six-year-old Nisei was eligible, and in addition, this time, any Issei in the same age bracket who had come to the United States at the age of nine or younger was also eligible.

To promote public interest in the second tour, the newspaper again carefully orchestrated a publicity campaign. It published accounts, in Japanese, of what the 1925 tour had personally meant for the members of the first *kengakudan*. Such accounts impressed upon Issei parents the positive merits of sending the Nisei to Japan. Many parents worried that their children, without a knowledge of Japanese

and Japanese culture, would develop an inferiority complex and despise their own Japanese roots. Margaret Shizuko Tan's description of what she had gained from the 1925 tour must have been a source of joy to such parents. She said:

I have often asked myself why I wasn't born as a caucasian, but as a yellow-faced Japanese. After touring Japan and associating with the Japanese people, I now realize such thoughts are foolish and childish. I am proud that we [Nisei] are descendants of a race which has a culture fundamentally different from caucasians. I also now realize acutely that we have the mission of contributing this Japanese culture to American civilization.²⁹

In a similar vein, Clarence Yoneo Arima said:

My attitude toward the land of my parents has undergone a radical change. Now I can fully appreciate the civilization and culture of the Japanese people, and I have a keen sense of affinity to them. . . . I was especially impressed by the kindness, and cordial treatment accorded . . . by the various business firms and individuals, and also the schools, through their teachers and students. This . . . did more than anything else to imbue in me pride in my Japanese origin.³⁰

George Isaji Okimoto echoed the other members' reactions:

When I think of my level of understanding of Japan before I toured the country, I get cold chills. I'm embarrassed to say it, but I didn't know anything. I had thought I knew Japan because I had read some English books on Japan and Japanese-American issues. But I learned to my chagrin that caucasian authors do not understand Japan. It makes me very happy that I learned things one cannot gain from books through my recent trip.³¹



The 1926 *kengakudan*. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.

In addition to the personal accounts of the first *kengakudan* members, the *Nichibei Shimbun* also published letters from their parents informing Issei parents of the beneficial results of study tours and encouraging them to allow their own children to participate. Fujii Matsutarō, father of Hisako Fujii, wrote as follows:

I sincerely express my gratitude to the *Nichibei Shimbun* for its work on behalf of the second-generation. Based on my personal experience, I state categorically that it is essential to send the American-born Nisei boys and girls on study tours of Japan.

There is no need for you to worry. I urge you to allow your children to participate. With the support of many people, my own daughter visited Japan as a member of the first *kengakudan*. She learned about Japan's ancient history by visiting old historic sites, Shinto shrines, and Buddhist temples. I'm happy and grateful that she was also able to see Japan's progress in modern industries by visiting schools and factories. My daughter and the entire Fujii family benefited from the tour, and no doubt our future descendants will, too. I believe that it demonstrates how necessary and valuable it is to send the Nisei, born and educated in the United States with its recent short history of 150-years or so, to tour Japan with her ancient history of 3,000 years. It also demonstrates that it is our obligation to send them. Whenever we have talked about Japan after dinner in our home, I was until recently always the teacher who taught. After my daughter returned from her trip, however, she has become the teacher who teaches. Just from this simple fact you can imagine what she got out of her trip.

After the tour officially ended in Kumamoto Prefecture, my daughter visited my birthplace in Fukuoka Prefecture where my father of over 80-years-old and my mother of nearly 80-years-old live. My parents wept with joy when they learned that their granddaughter had been sent to Japan under the auspices of the *Nichibei Shimbun* by the Japanese in the United States. My father apparently perceived my "stupid daughter" as his "very smart granddaughter."³²

Furuta Hamazō, father of Yukiko Furuta, listed what he considered the principal benefits the *kengakudan* members had derived from the first study tour. First, each tour member had made noticeable improvements in speaking Japanese. This in itself spoke well of the *kengakudan*. Second, the members all returned exhibiting "more real Japanese character traits," an even more positive benefit. Third, and here the appeal was directly to the hearts of Issei parents, the experience had made all members sensitive to the "sufferings and difficulties" their parents had to endure in the United State, with its "different manners, customs, and language" and consequently made the members realize that they owed a "debt"

to their parents. Fourth and last, the members gained something intangible that would help them through the vicissitudes of later life.³³ These presumed benefits no doubt were very appealing to ordinary Issei parents, convincing many of them to support the second *kengakudan* and to cast votes for the Nisei candidate of their choice.

The *Nichibei Shimbun* also promoted competition among communities as a part of its publicity campaign. To encourage local communities to support their local candidates, the newspaper published daily tallies of the voting results from October 1, 1925. In the early voting tally, the Japanese of Sacramento and its vicinity quickly made Flora Yae Tsuda, an exceedingly bright eighteen-year-old high school senior, the leading vote getter. The people of Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley rallied behind Makiko Utsumi, reputedly a beautiful vocalist, making her the early second-best vote getter. The Issei of San Diego marshaled their support behind May Mutsuko Fujito, a high school honor student. In the same manner, the people of the Long Beach area backed Frank Aiji Endo, a recent valedictorian of his graduating class at Long Beach High School. Outside California, the Japanese of Portland eventually threw their weight behind the candidacy of Ruth Nomura, a typewriter whiz and employee of the S. Ban Company. The competition among communities also featured special advertisements, with photographs, placed in the *Nichibei Shimbun* by community organizations, describing the qualifications and achievements of their local candidates and listing the local groups endorsing them. The daily tally and advertisements combined to further stimulate popular interest in the 1926 *kengakudan*. All the foregoing means were employed by the *Nichibei Shimbun* to publicize the second study tour and indirectly further disseminate Abiko's belief in the necessity of the Nisei generation learning about Japan and Japanese culture.

In the end, ten Nisei were selected as members of the 1926 *kengakudan* (See Figure 2).³⁴ These ten tour

Figure 2: Nisei selected for the 1926 *Kengakudan*.

Name	Hometown	Total Votes
Flora Yae Tsuda	Sacramento	1,285,863
Kimiko Kumamoto	Los Angeles	1,068,035
Kazuko Matsumura	Fresno	981,686
Shigeru Hashii	Moneta	950,098
Makiko Utsumi	Oakland	938,868
May Mutsuko Fujito	San Diego	852,989
Miya Sannomiya	San Francisco	805,011
Yoneko Yamada	Santa Barbara	798,111
Frank Aiji Endo	Long Beach	767,083
Ruth Nomura	Portland	734,451



While on their visits to Japan, the *kengakudan* of the 1920s met with Japanese people from many walks of life. The 1926 tour group is shown above at a dinner in their honor. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.

members were as diverse as the 1925 group. This time there were only two males, however. Eight were high school graduates; Flora Yae Tsuda of Sacramento and May Mutsuko Fujito of San Diego were the youngest and only high school students. Four were college students. Ruth Nomura of Portland had already graduated from business school. The oldest was Miya Sannomiya, who was a student at the University of California at Berkeley majoring in German and, by consensus, the most mature and capable of all the members. Like the 1925 *kengakudan* members, fluency in the Japanese language varied; despite her young age, Flora Yae Tsuda was able to speak, read, and write Japanese. Each also represented different Japanese communities in California and Oregon. Their parents' origin in Japan varied widely—two traced their roots to Kumamoto Prefecture, one each to Wakayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Yamagata, Hyogo, Kagoshima, and Tottori prefectures, and one to the city of Tokyo.³⁵

Before the 1926 *kengakudan* set sail, the *Nichibei Shimbun* sponsored a five-day lecture series for the new tour members. Delivered by local notables, the members heard lectures on various aspects of Japanese culture, ranging from Japanese painting,

architecture, religion, industries, famous tourist sights, and Japanese customs and manners. The *Nichibei Shimbun* noted that these lectures "are being conducted primarily for the purpose of preparing the Nichi-Bei Kengaku-Dan members for their Japanese tour," and that they are "particularly valuable to the young people from the cultural standpoint, as the second-generation are generally ignorant of Japan and Japanese culture, a condition which has done more than any . . . single factor to widen the gap between themselves and the members of the first generation."³⁶

Except for minor changes, the itinerary of the 1926 study tour resembled that of the first tour. The tour members traveled first class to and from Japan and while on tour in the country. Again headed by Mrs. Abiko Yonako, the three-month trip began on March 2 and ended on May 28. The group visited Tokyo, Kamakura, Nikko, Sendai, Numazu, Nagoya, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Kobe, Okayama, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Kumamoto. And again, with the help of prominent Japanese and government officials, the *kengakudan* members had access to the upper-class elite and to places normally closed to ordinary tourists. Everywhere they went, whether they visited historic

ites or a modern manufacturing plant, they invariably received red-carpet treatment.

After the 1926 study tour, the *kengakudan* members again presented public talks before Issei and Nisei audiences in Japanese communities throughout California and elsewhere. The first public lecture was held on May 29 in San Francisco at the Golden Gate Institute hall before a gathering of over a thousand people.³⁷ Kimiko Kumamoto opened the evening program with an account of how their *kengakudan* had been received in Japan. Ruth Nomura followed with her observations regarding the modernization of Japan. Frank Aijo Endo discussed their visit to a modern paper factory in Kyushu. Flora Yae Tsuda presented what she thought the people of Japan expected of the American-born second generation. Finally, Miya Sannomiya described what she had learned in Japan. Kumamoto, Endo, and Tsuda spoke in Japanese, while Nomura and Sannomiya gave their presentations in English. Makiko Utsumi and Ioneko Yamada gave musical presentations.

From Abiko's perspective, Flora Yae Tsuda, perhaps, best validated the worth of study tours. She reported that the people of Japan expected the Nisei to assume the role of a bridge of understanding between Japan and the United States. She was fond

of using the Japanese term *chūkaisha*, or intermediary, in speaking of this role.³⁸ In 1927 she wrote an essay in Japanese entitled "Natsukashiki Nihon no Omoide" [My Fond Memories of Japan]. She wrote in part:

I had known that there are beautiful sights in Japan, but I had not realized just how beautiful they are. There was beauty everywhere we went, so much so that I often wished we had more time to enjoy the sights leisurely. Now when I think of "Matsushima, Oh Beautiful Matsushima," that's exactly how I feel. All of us felt overjoyed that everything was more beautiful than we had ever imagined. And wherever we went, everyone was so cordial, making us feel a great sense of gratitude. We who are American-born Japanese are very fortunate indeed to have this vast America as our mother country and Japan, with her ancient history of thousands of years, as our ancestral land.³⁹

All *kengakudan* members unquestionably were heavily influenced by their exposure to Japan. Ruth Nomura later traced her lifelong interest in the Japanese arts and her continual participation in the sister-city program between St. Paul and Nagasaki during the post-World War II period to her *kengakudan* experience.⁴⁰ Frank Aiji Endo himself



In order to learn more about Japanese traditional culture, the *kengakudan* visited historic and religious sites and took part in artistic events. Here, the 1926 tour group poses with the famous Japanese actor, Ganjiro Nakamura, after attending one of his performances. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.

decided to embark on a career in architecture precisely because he had seen, in his own words, "so many beautiful temples, castles, and other architectural buildings throughout Japan."⁴¹ Yukiko Furuta was very impressed by Japan, but not by everything she experienced. She resented having to board trains after male passengers and rejected what she perceived as the subordinate status of women in Japanese society.⁴² Hisako Fujii was struck mostly by the aesthetic aspects of Japanese culture.⁴³ Miya Sannomiya, perhaps, best expressed the profound impact the *kengakudan* experience had on the young Nisei members. In recalling its effect on her, she said that "the tour changed my entire life."⁴⁴ Indeed, it was behind her decision to study Japanese in Japan in 1931 and her eventual employment in 1934 as an English secretary of the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* [Society for International Cultural Relations], a Japanese educational society devoted to disseminating information about Japan in Western languages.

The concept of the Nisei as a bridge of understanding underwent a decisive change in the 1930s. Beginning with the Manchurian Incident of 1931, international political events transformed the significance of the concept. On September 18 of that year, a group of junior Japanese officers contrived an incident and used it as a pretext to occupy Manchuria militarily. The officers took this action in defiance of their high military command. The civilian government, confronted by a *fait accompli*, defended the action by claiming that the Japanese army had been provoked by the Chinese beyond toleration. Then, to consolidate political control over Manchuria, the government recognized a political entity called Manchukuo in 1932. Ostensibly independent, Manchukuo in fact was a puppet state created under Japanese government tutelage and maintained under its control. The League of Nations dispatched a fact-finding commission to investigate the events and circumstances that had led up to the establishment of the state of Manchukuo. Upon completion of its investigation, the commission branded Japan as a military aggressor, and, based upon the recommendation of the commission, the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a policy of non-recognition of Manchukuo. Although not a member of the League, the United States also branded Japan as an aggressor and likewise adopted a policy of non-recognition. To protest the policy of the international community, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in February 1933.

These events gave the concept of the bridge of understanding a strong, new political meaning. Until 1931 the Issei mainly had had the Japanese

exclusion movement in mind when they applied the concept to the second generation. The Nisei were expected to dispel the misunderstandings behind the exclusion movement by educating Americans about Japanese immigration, thereby removing one of the chief sources of past friction in Japanese-American relations. Now the Nisei were also expected to explain larger political events in the Far East and present and justify Japan's side of those events to the American public. In this way, the concept of the Nisei as a bridge of understanding was expanded to encompass broader international political issues that adversely affected Japanese-American relations. By 1937 those issues included the Sino-Japanese War which erupted on July 7, 1937, and continued until the outbreak of the Pacific War.

By 1930 the sending of Nisei study groups to Japan was a firmly established practice within the Japanese immigrant community. After the first *Nichibei Shimbun*-sponsored *kengakudan*, other Japanese immigrant newspapers followed suit and sponsored their own *kengakudan*. For example, the *Shin Sekai* of San Francisco, arch rival of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, organized a *kengakudan* in the summer of 1926. Prefectural associations, religious organizations, educational bodies, and other cultural groups also organized their own tour groups. The *kengakudan* of the 1930s, formed as they were in the aftermath of the Manchuria Incident, not surprisingly often included side trips to Korea and Manchuria after 1931 and to north China after 1937. During the course of the 1930s, some Nisei endeavored to defend Japan's military actions in China in keeping with the ideal of a bridge of understanding. But as relations between the United States and Japan progressively deteriorated, such Nisei realized that they could not continue to do so without impugning their own loyalty to the United States. Thus the concept of the Nisei as a bridge of understanding, which appeared viable at its inception in the 1920s with the first *Nichibei Shimbun*-sponsored *kengakudan*, eventually became untenable in the maelstrom of international political events in the years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor.

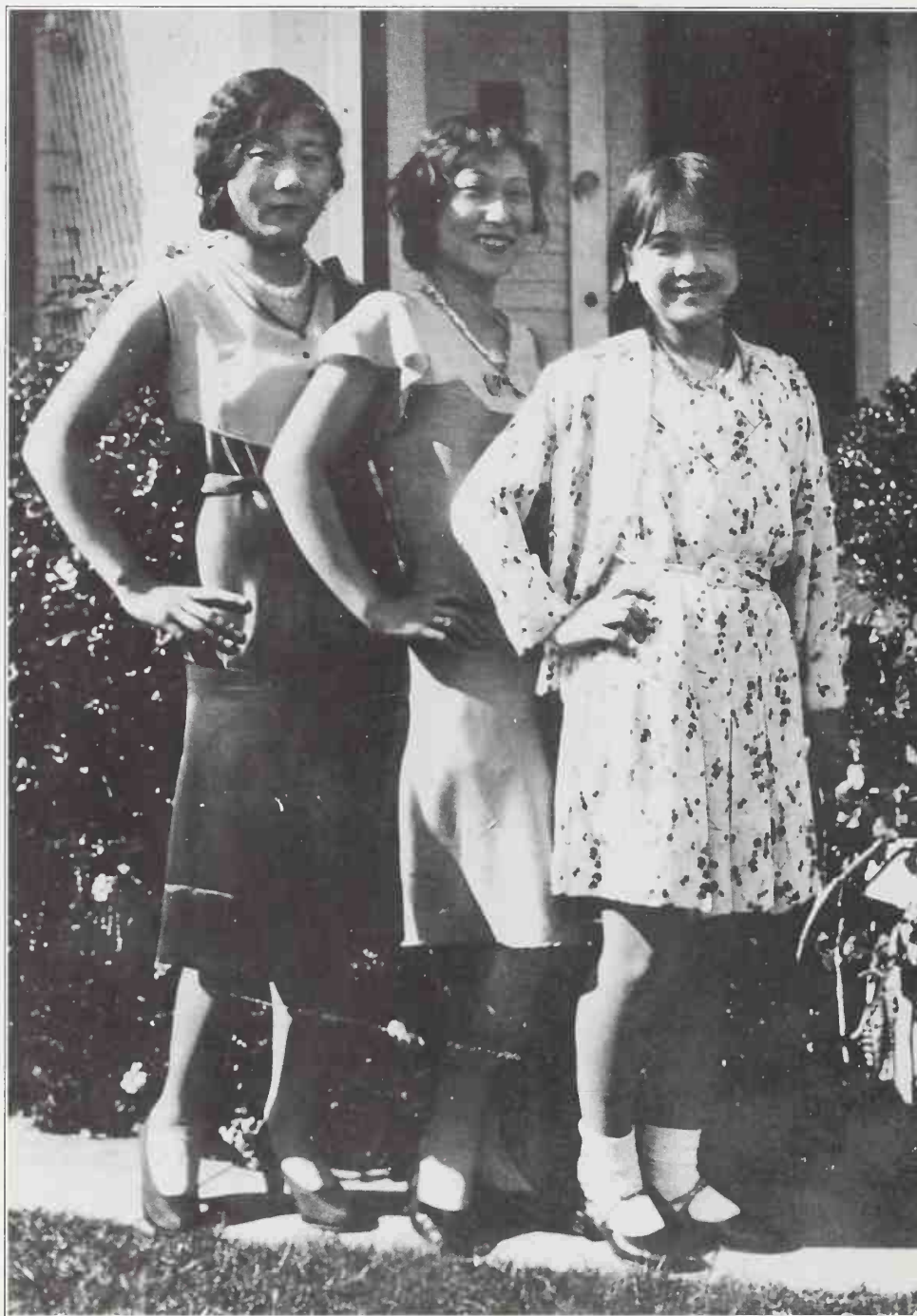
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See notes beginning on page 87.

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The founder of the first *kengakudan*, Abiko Kyūtarō (standing to the left of the lifesaver), greeted the 1925 tour group upon its triumphant return to San Francisco. Because of the success of the first visit, the sending of *kengakudan* to Japan became an important part of Issei's attempts to educate their American-born children in the culture of the mother country and to improve relations between the United States and Japan in the late 1920s and 1930s. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, UCLA.*



Japanese American women, ca. 1930s. Young immigrant and second-generation women in America were constantly challenged by choices. Even the outwardly simple decision to wear western fashions could be fraught with conflict and implied denying other cultural traditions that had existed for centuries. *Kei Ishigami Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.*

Redefining Expectations

Nisei Women in the 1930s

by Valerie Matsumoto

In 1934, a nineteen-year-old Japanese American woman stirred readers of the San Francisco *Hokubei Asahi* newspaper with seven essays regarding women's roles in family and society. "Japanese Nisei girls," she announced, "have very little freedom in self-expression. They are bound in skirts and girdled to convention. . . . The social convention has chloroformed them. They are dead to worldly freedom and accomplishments."¹ "Mary M. N.," as the young writer prudently styled herself, further railed against the inequities between men and women, and specifically at the male ego:

To a woman's eyes, he [man] is nothing but a hot-dog rolled in mustard, though he may imagine himself to be a lion—a stuffed lion at the most. . . . If a woman actually told a man or boy what he really is, this world would be unsafe for the wiser sex.²

Mary urged Japanese American women to "be strong and be a fighter. . . . Our civilization does not call for women to stick forever to sewing and washing. Our life must not be spent in dingy kitchens. . . . the world is too large a place for womankind to squander their lives in foolishness and trifles. . . . Be a woman of the world!"³

Mary M. N.'s essays provoked a flurry of response from other second-generation Japanese Americans. Her ideas on gender roles, interracial marriage, and the pursuit of individual fulfillment catalyzed the transformation of a general "letters to the editor" column into the newspaper's popular advice column, which was presided over by another Nisei woman. From 1935 to 1940, Mary Oyama Mittwer—writing under the pseudonym "Deirdre"—provided a sympathetic ear for personal problems, dispensed etiquette tips, and pondered the place of the Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) in U.S. society.⁴

Advice columns such as Deirdre's and juvenile penpal correspondence clubs—both geared largely toward female readers—provide a valuable window into the concerns and roles of second-generation

Japanese American women in the pre-World War II community. Few such personal records have survived the turmoil of the wartime uprooting of the Japanese Americans. These columns serve as a useful gauge indicating the influence of both the ethnic community and the dominant European American society on the position of Nisei women. They also reveal the ways in which second-generation women tried to mediate conflict between American mainstream expectations and the wishes of their immigrant parents.

Only a handful of works by writers such as Monica Sone, Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, and Yoshiko Uchida shed light on what it meant to be a Nisei woman coming of age on the brink of war. For the most part, scholars have focused on Japanese American history during World War II. Certainly the concentration camp experience played a crucial part in altering women's roles and family life, but to what extent had these changes already begun? The prewar newspapers provide evidence that gender role and cultural shifts were already in progress, changes that would accelerate in the pressure-cooker environment of camp life. Japanese American newspaper columns reveal the interplay of ethnic and mainstream cultures, as well as the dreams and realities of young Nisei women, through the decade of the 1930s. The lively Nisei discussion of these topics, particularly the development of an ethnic peer network and issues associated with heterosexual love and marriage, demonstrates second-generation women's efforts to integrate the different social worlds that shaped their perceptions and choices and underscores as well the significance of peer affirmation.

The Japanese-language press served as an important information source and unifying agent for the immigrant enclaves in the U.S. West, enabling the Issei (first generation) to keep abreast of community, national, and international events. In northern

California, several newspapers vied for community support, including the *Hokubei Asahi* and the *Shin Sekai*. By the 1930s, both newspapers started English-language sections for the benefit of the growing second generation, most of whom did not read Japanese. These English-language sections initially gave limited coverage to sports news and church events. By 1935, when the two papers merged to form the *New World-Sun*, the English-language sections had expanded to include youth-oriented penpal clubs, advice columns, reader-submitted poetry and fiction, recipes, fashion news, and comic strips. By the eve of World II, their offerings included more extensive reporting of Japanese American political concerns and close coverage of U.S.-Japan relations. Reader submissions revealed the popularity of the newspapers among both urban and rural Nisei throughout the West and beyond.

Japanese immigration to the United States had begun in the late nineteenth century with the arrival of male laborers. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908 restricted the entry of additional male Japanese workers but permitted the immigration of the families of Japanese already living in the United States. The majority of Japanese immigrant women entered the country between 1908 and 1924. The Immigration Act of 1924, however, ended the influx of Japanese men and women altogether. Many of the Issei immigrants settled in the U.S. West, working on railroads, in lumber mills, and in agriculture. Those in urban areas developed small businesses that primarily catered to the ethnic community.

The young 1930s readers of the *New World-Sun*—the children of the Issei—were in age and training representative of their Japanese American peers. The majority of the Nisei were born between 1910 and 1940. Both sons and daughters, particularly those living on farms, played an important role in the family economy from an early age. Country Nisei hoed weeds, irrigated fields, drove tractors, and tended their younger siblings. In addition to fieldwork, girls were expected to fulfill domestic duties. Their urban counterparts helped in their families' small businesses, which provided goods and services to the ethnic community.

The values of Meiji Japan and the American Protestant ethic meshed in the upbringing of the Nisei. Although rural families were more apt to maintain traditional Japanese practices, all Nisei shared common training and ideals. Their Issei parents stressed the importance of education, industriousness, and respect for authority and reminded them of their role as representatives of their family and community. In addition, the Issei sought to instill in their children a strong sense of



Rural Japanese American women in the 1930s, posed in traditional dress. Courtesy Herbert Hirotsu.

Japanese values such as *oyakoko* (filial piety) and *on* (obligation).

The Nisei grew up synthesizing both American mainstream culture and the Japanese customs of their parents. Most of the second generation spoke Japanese with their parents and English with their siblings and friends. When the regular school day ended, their parents sent them to *nihongakko* (Japanese school) to learn Japanese language and ethics. Whether Buddhist or Christian, they celebrated a round of Japanese and American holidays, including New Year's Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Nisei girls learned knitting and crocheting as well as *odori*, or traditional Japanese dance. Like their non-Japanese American peers, they followed the adventures of their favorite comic-strip heroes and collected photographs of screen idols such as Deanna Durbin and Clark Gable.

The young women who wrote to Deirdre and solicited penpals through the newspaper's "Rendezvous Club" feature were teenagers or in their early twenties by the eve of World War II. Most were single but likely to marry within a few years.⁵ Some, like Monica Sone, author of *Nisei Daughter*, dreamed of going to college or business school, and a small minority did so. As they considered their futures, they turned to their peers for empathy and encouragement.

The Nisei were a highly organized group within the ethnic enclave. During the war years, they relied on strong support networks of friends and kin in seeking work and reestablishing families dislocated by wartime internment. Examination of Nisei penpal clubs facilitated by the *New World-Sun* in the 1930s affords the opportunity to trace one facet of the development of these peer networks even

With bobbed hair and bobby socks, Japanese American teenagers embraced the 1940s styles of the mainstream teenage culture, but spent the war years in a relocation camp. Bainbridge Island Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.



efore the war. These clubs gave Nisei in isolated reas a sense of community and a preliminary bridge etween urban and rural experiences, fostering new eer bonds.

The Rendezvous Club, nicknamed the "Rendie" y members, was the longest-running column in the nglish-language section of the *New World-Sun*. It rst appeared in the *Shin Sekai* in 1933 and persisted until the advent of war closed the press. A sense of xtended family relationship was fostered by the tructure of the penpal club, which was supervised y a series of fictive "unkles" and "aunts" like Unkle Dski, Unkle Jimmy, Aunt Tsugi, and Aunt Susan. These supportive adult characters, themselves Nisei, vere only a few years older than their enthusiastic nieces" and "nefs." In the column, the "unkles" and aunts" wrote travel sketches, exchanged breezy anter with their readers, and introduced new mem- bers. In the first several years, the majority of esponses to the Rendezvous Club came from girls ike Sara Imura, who wrote to the newspaper from Crichton, Alabama, that "I have chosen the name DEW DROP INN because I want all of you to drop n with letters. . . . I am fourteen and will be a junior ext year, but have never seen or heard from any apanese of my age except [a] few of my relatives."⁶

Club participation allowed the Nisei a secure hannel in which to experiment with self-definition and identity, since they could choose the informa- tion they would present about themselves and nvent pseudonyms. Indicative of their engagement ith popular youth culture, in the first years, the

"Rendites" used pen names such as "Dixie," "Lollypop," "Raggedy Ann," "Rebecca of Cupertino Farm," and "Ratspudding the Vampire." They described to their newfound "cousins," "aunts," and "unkles" their experiences of ice-skating in Utah, cutting spuds in Idaho, and attending girls' finishing schools in Japan. The sense of belonging to a family network was furthered by the circulation of a photograph album in which new members could see their "cousins," and add their own pictures.

As the Nisei matured, the Rendezvous Club began to serve an additional social purpose in facilitating the meeting of young women and men. More flirtatious pseudonyms appeared, such as "Glamour Puss," "Handsome Romeo," "Lonesome Cavalier," and "Hot Time Susie." By 1938, however, pen names began to fall into disuse as the older Nisei sent in their real names and provided more detailed descriptions of their physique and character. It is not certain how much socializing the Rendie initiated, but its undiminished popularity up to the outbreak of World War II and the announcement in 1938 of the wedding of two readers testify to its importance in providing an ethnic social and romantic outlet for the second generation.

If the "Rendezvous Club" provided an ethnic social network for the second generation, the newspaper's "I'm Telling You, Deirdre" column constituted a forum for inquiries and advice about how Nisei readers might maintain harmonious inter- action both with their Japanese elders and persons



Mary Oyama Mittwer ("Deirdre"), ca. August 1943, when the family was living in Denver, after having been released from Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming, one of the camps in which the United States government had imprisoned Japanese Americans during World War II. This photograph originally appeared with Mittwer's article, "My Only Crime Is My Face," in *Liberty: Magazine of a Free People* (August 14, 1943). Courtesy author and Vicki Littman.

of the dominant society. For the Nisei, who were sometimes uncertain as to the etiquette that was expected of them by their parents and non-Japanese American contemporaries, Deirdre provided kindly optimism and clues to proper behavior. Her column also offered discussion of the Nisei's most intimate and thorny concerns. When Deirdre took charge of the "I'm Telling You" column, she promised to address the social problems facing the second generation and stated that she would be "happy to answer any question put her concerning family affairs, love and other sex problems, social etiquette and other personal questions."⁷ Those who wrote in could rely upon the secrecy of their pseudonyms and on the empathy of their peers. Here Deirdre displayed her skill not only as an arbiter but as a confidante.

The "I'm Telling You" column is a particularly rich

source for exploring the lives of prewar Nisei women. As evidenced by letters and postcards sent from all areas of California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Nevada, Oregon, Texas, and Washington, D.C., Deirdre reached a wide readership. Women comprised the majority of writers to the column until 1937, when Deirdre reported that the letters she received were now equally divided between men and women. Cities, small towns, and rural districts were all equally represented in her incoming mail. Some of the issues of concern to Deirdre's readers were "boy and girl relations," the "Nisei problem," intergenerational conflict, careers, marriage, and etiquette.

The two kinds of social etiquette information Deirdre dispensed constituted a link for the Nisei between the carefully regulated world of their parents and the sometimes bewildering customs of their non-Japanese American peers. The Nisei strove to adapt to the ways of the larger society, but for many of them it was unfamiliar terrain, and the prospect of committing social errors was mortifying. Through her advice column, Deirdre tried to demystify the social conventions of the middle-class European American world for the urban and rural Nisei. For example, she advised young men about what would be considered proper gifts they might give women friends and warned them, "Never walk down the street with one girl on each arm—like a gigolo."⁸ She also cautioned the Nisei that excessive gum-chewing was unattractive.

Attempting to smooth relations between two generations, Deirdre also advised the Nisei regarding Issei expectations of correct behavior. For instance, she devoted one column to the mechanics of a proper bow. "There is nothing more graceful, charming and poised to look at than a well-executed bow," she assured her readers. She instructed gentlemen to bow from the waist "rather than bobbing the head from the neck like a chicken."⁹ Women, on the other hand, should bow from the hips, slowly and deliberately, sliding the hands down from thighs to kneecaps, holding the position for three seconds. She advocated practice in front of a mirror to perfect the technique.

Often, Deirdre's advice reflected the mixed social environment in which her Nisei readers moved. In an essay devoted to the importance of "small courtesies," Deirdre's list of appropriate behaviors included not sprawling on the couch, going to the door to call for a girlfriend rather than honking the auto-horn, and saying "*Gomen kudasai*" when entering someone's home. Upon leaving, the thoughtful Nisei should say to the host or hostess, "I've had a pleasant time, goodbye," or "*O-jama itashi mashita*."¹⁰ This Nisei "Miss Manners" was well aware of the varied social demands confronting her readers.

Although Deirdre addressed a variety of general issues that were not gender specific, the bulk of her writing was aimed at female readers. She admonished young women to avoid "little white lies" and false sophistication, and advised that men preferred "good sports" to "davenport sirens" or "reclining leopatrass." Deirdre's advice to Nisei women was mixed, perhaps reflective of the ambivalent position of middle-class European American women in the larger society during the interwar doldrums of feminism. On the one hand, she extolled the importance of finding one's lifework; on the other, she bluntly asserted that "brainy women are not as accepted as rainy men" and must therefore conceal their intelligence. Deirdre's advice-giving was complicated, moreover, by the fact that she was directing it to ethnic minority women in a racially discriminatory society that imposed limitations on their opportunities and aspirations.



A Japanese "picture bride," ca. 1920. Under the "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1907, Japan voluntarily restricted migration of laborers to the United States. While this arrangement curtailed emigration of Japanese men, it led to the arrival of young Japanese women who had married husbands they had never met. This new phenomenon encouraged such Japanese couples to find permanent work, settle down, and begin raising families. *Susan Shoho Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.*

The subject of marriage and marriage practices, which reveals the juncture of Japanese traditions and U.S. socioeconomic conditions in the lives of Nisei women, was a recurring topic for Deirdre and her readers. In one column, Deirdre proclaimed that modern sophisticates were daring to break away from superstitious custom and "doing away with rings and titles." Indeed, the economic hardships of the depression years necessitated for many couples a shift away from showy weddings to civil ceremonies.¹¹ However, the issue of planning a simple wedding was sometimes complicated for the Nisei by the desire of their parents for an elaborate traditional Japanese celebration. "If a bowl of sake and hilarity is what they wish," one sympathetic Nisei asked, "need we deny them?"¹² At stake was not merely an issue of monetary expense, real as that was, but, on another level, a question that pitted Japanese community tradition against American individualism.

The concerns of feminism and conservative economics merged in the matter of engagement and wedding rings. Deirdre informed her readers that, like the flashy wedding, "rings are also being dispensed with as being too much like a 'yoke of bondage,' a badge of slavery," an unnecessary added expense.¹³ Deirdre added, thirty years in advance of the women's liberation movement, "The inescapable 'Mrs.' would be dropped for a term as neutral as 'Mr.' if it could be done—but as yet no good substitute title has been found. Usually the young matron is introduced as 'Katherine Allen' rather than the uninteresting 'Mrs. Allen.'"¹⁴

Marriage in general was a complex issue for the Nisei women. The majority, like their non-Japanese American sisters, expected a future revolving around marriage and family.¹⁵ This expectation was complicated by Issei parents' preference for arranged matches such as their own. Many of the older Nisei who married before World War II had arranged marriages. To their younger siblings, however, such unions represented the antithesis of the companionate marriage extolled by their peers and the popular media. The tensions surrounding this issue were increased in the mid-1930s by the dearth of career opportunities for racial ethnic women and growing racial hostility that Nisei faced outside the Japantowns and Little Tokyos.

Like their mothers, Nisei women anticipated a future of marriage and domesticity. Many would have agreed with "Voice of the Rockies," a reader who wrote to Deirdre in 1937 that "after all is said and done, no career in the world offers ANY woman the satisfaction of the job of motherhood, really and truly well-done . . . No matter what we

may do in life, until we've married, borne children, we are immature in many ways."¹⁶ For a Japanese American woman, adult status derived in large part from her role as wife and mother.

At least a few of the second-generation women, however, took up their pens in favor of career dreams. "Modern Miss" wrote to the newspaper in defense of Nisei "bachelorettes": "All women are NOT necessarily 'born for marriage.' Most women, yes, I grant; but NOT all women. . . ." "There are women who are married to their much beloved work," she continued, "and women who prefer their independence to the drudgery of domesticity. If they prefer to be single, why try to force them into an unwilling marriage merely because of public opinion?"¹⁷ She contrasted mainstream and Japanese American society with regard to the status of single women:

In the sensible American society of today there is no stigma attached to the unmarried woman. In conservative Japanese society and in our backward Nisei society, there seems to be a sort of 'unwritten question mark' hovering over the unmarried misses' heads like a sort of invisible halo.¹⁸

"Modern Miss" argued that all bachelorettes were not "dying to get married," but rather cherished their work and independence, and did not plan to marry until they found the "RIGHT man."¹⁹

The Nisei women's goal of personally locating the "right man" and their romantic expectations of courtship and marriage differentiated them from their mothers and indicated the influence of popular American culture on their attitudes. Historians Mary Ryan and Elaine Tyler May have noted that by the 1920s, American women were turning from the nineteenth-century ideals of purity and sacrifice to those of individuality and independence. In addition, the new woman had higher expectations of her relations with men.²⁰ The Japanese American women's letters of the 1930s reflect these changes as well. Many of the younger Nisei would agree with "Voice of the Rockies," who said of marriage, "Without love, it's an altogether different story. I,

myself, cannot tolerate alliances for 'convenience only. Without love, marriage is only a sham."²¹ In her response to the writer, Deirdre expressed wholehearted agreement, and reiterated her view that "a lot of busybodies and well-meaning Isseis are needlessly worrying about the so-called 'old maid problem.' They are so anxious to get everyone married off before they are twenty that they do not stop to think that not all girls are alike and that different girls mature at different ages."²² While not downplaying the importance of marriage, Deirdre reflected the Nisei concern with individuality and personal choice.

The Nisei women's image of the "right man" also reflected generational change and the importance of choice. In the early twentieth century, a Japanese immigrant woman was thankful if her husband worked steadily and did not drink or gamble; her daughters looked for additional qualities for which an Issei woman could only hope.²³ "Miss Perplexed" told Deirdre's readers that among her criteria for a partner were personality, intelligence, manners, neat appearance, ambition, superior education, and consideration of women.²⁴ Certainly the focus on charm and physical attractiveness in the later Rendie columns also indicates changing female expectations.

An Issei couple, perhaps in traditional wedding clothes, ca. 1910. As marriage patterns changed among Japanese, "Deirdre" sought to deliver balanced advice that spanned two cultural patterns. When it seemed appropriate, she supported traditional customs such as prearranged marriages, but at the same time she encouraged women readers to consider roles beyond wife and motherhood. *Mary Nakasugi Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.*



As the proportion of male readers of "I'm Telling You, Deirdre" increased, the advice columnist could address similar issues, but from the Nisei men's perspective. What did Japanese American men expect in the women they married? One "Nisei Youth" sent Deirdre a description of the "ideal Nisei girl." "A person of my type," he explained,

likes a girl who is natural, smart, . . . talented or accomplished, . . . fairly sophisticated. . . . She must know how to meet the problems of the world and of life, and with common sense she can face any situation. . . . Young in heart—pleasing and charming as a child, old in wisdom—[with] the understanding of a mature woman. . . .²⁵

At the end of this litany, he prompted rhetorically, "Do I ask too much?" and then proclaimed that his girlfriend was just such a paragon. This "Nisei Youth" may have reflected an urban ideal rather than a rural one; still, his "wish list" of female attributes reveals that American mainstream thinking also influenced the men of the second generation. Clearly Nisei women and men had growing expectations of intimacy and emotional satisfaction in marriage. For marital models, they looked less and less to their parents and increasingly drew on the values of American popular culture.

Sociologist Evelyn Nakano Glenn has noted the critical role played by the middle Nisei cohort—those born between 1911 and 1919—in the transition from arranged marriage to "love" marriage, or *jiyu kekkon* (free marriage).²⁶ Many Nisei, in accordance with their parents' desires, had arranged marriages in the prewar period. However, newspaper articles and letters to Deirdre reflect increasing Nisei resistance to this custom.

The conflict between obedience to parental wishes and personal inclinations rendered the issue of arranged marriage particularly difficult for the Nisei. Deirdre's advice in this arena reflects the numerous considerations to be weighed, and also evidences the extent to which the ideal of companionate marriage had taken root among the Nisei by the mid-1930s. A young woman who entered an arranged marriage because of a sense of family obligation wrote that "This was absolutely not of my doings! I was forced to it. That's why I was always feeling low lately. You understand, don't you? To have to marry a man I've never known in my whole life, and not in love!"²⁷

The man this writer *did* profess to care for submitted the letter to Deirdre with a plea for words of encouragement. Deirdre's response, which presented a forum for her views of both arranged and romantic marriages, was positive but not completely sympathetic to the writer. Her advice revealed the degree to which the American mainstream belief in free will had taken hold. The unhappy newlywed, who signed herself "Girl Friend," was first reminded by Deirdre of the eugenic advantages of arranged matches. "You are not just getting anybody," Deirdre said, "that is, if the third parties have seen to it to carefully investigate his family and circumstances. If the *baishakunin* [go-betweens] are good friends of yours, they would at least try to pick out a fairly decent person for you." It is questionable how much comfort "Girl Friend" derived from the columnist's assurance that "unless a man is an inveterate drinker, or of a violent temper, or one of perverse habits, the ordinary man cannot be such an ogre of a creature."²⁸

Deirdre then proceeded to question whether "Girl Friend" had been truly coerced into marriage. "Were you 'forced' under pressure of disgrace, threat of bodily harm or torture, or being disowned from your family, or something equally dire?" she asked. Deirdre admitted that parental pressure constituted



Strolling arm-in-arm on Treasure Island, a Japanese American couple attends the 1940 San Francisco World's Fair. Jack Iwata Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.

a powerful force, but insisted that “there must have been some way out of it IF you really wanted to get out.”²⁹ The advice columnist’s final words, however, were antithetical to the values the Issei sought to instill in their daughters—and very much the message of mainstream America:

If you want a thing badly enough, you must be willing to sacrifice anything to attain it. You must be willing to lose your own family even, to face the so-called “disgrace,” to endure poverty—hunger—starvation for your “love.” If you are unwilling to go through these things . . . then we are afraid that you will have to forego love and marriage with the person of your choice.³⁰

While it is not possible to determine how many Nisei women were willing to make such a stand in the prewar years, Deirdre’s advice and the sentiments of her readers make clear the growing strength of the dominant society’s ideals of heterosexual love and individual choice among the Nisei.

In the realms of love and marriage, Japanese American women confronted the tensions between the Japanese ways of their parents and the values of American mainstream culture. They faced pressure from within and outside the Japanese American community to maintain an ethnic identity and cultural support networks, as well as to prove themselves American citizens. Both the ethnic community and the dominant society influenced women’s roles and expectations. Nisei women, like their Issei mothers, anticipated a future of marriage and family; however, like their contemporaries, they also expected to choose their own marital partners,

and many prepared for wage-earning jobs outside the family economy.

As reflected by the response of the Nisei readers of the *Hokubei Asahi*, women’s growing independence and the debate over female roles drew criticism as well as spirited advocacy. Mary M. N., the young writer whose essays sparked debate in 1934 may have been less representative of her generation than an “Older Mary” who wrote to express her disapproval of what she viewed as the younger Nisei’s selfish individualism. “We want,” she said, “society with a code that can make people keep a moderate norm.”³¹ It was with envy, however, that she also stated, “You have dashed the cobwebs from the many sleepy eyes that flounder in these communities. . . . You can only be explained in your own words that you are a high school girl with a streak of ‘red flare.’ God, how I wish I were like you!”³²

The issues that had fueled Mary M. N.’s incendiary essays in 1934 echoed in the articles and advice column of the *Shin Sekai*, the *Hokubei Asahi*, and the *New World-Sun* throughout the rest of the 1930s. Prewar newspapers reflect the complexity of the Nisei’s cultural integration, particularly with regard to gender roles. The prewar emergence of advice columns evidenced the adoption of a popular mainstream format, as did the more eerie appearance of fashion sections in the wartime internment camp newspapers. Advice columns and correspondence clubs also served to extend ethnic ties, providing a way for isolated rural Nisei youth to make friendly and romantic contact with their peers. These columns, geared to both men and women in the 1930s and primarily toward a female audience



Clearly enjoying each other, this couple, ca. 1930, illustrates the changing relationship between Japanese American men and women. Yoshi Inose Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.



Many of the photographs in this issue were provided by the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. The museum, shown above, is located at 369 East First Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012. The museum was established in 1992 as a national nonprofit institution dedicated to preserving and sharing the history of Japanese Americans in the United States. It serves national and international audiences through its programs, exhibitions, and resource materials. The museum occupies the former Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, in the Little Tokyo Historic District of the city. The temple was designed in 1924 by architect Edgar Cline. During World War II, the temple was used by members to store household belongings during their internment. The Japanese American National Museum is currently open to the public six days a week. For hours of operation and other information, please call (213) 625-0414. *Courtesy Japanese American National Museum. Photograph by Norman Sugimoto.*

during World War II, serve as a gauge of the influence and meaning of mainstream trends and ideals for second-generation women. They make clear the importance of ethnic bonds, as well as the extent to which, by the 1940s, Nisei women's notions of love and marriage separated them from the expectations of their mothers.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 88.

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"Sun Rising in an Eastern Sky"

Japanese Americans in Washington Township, 1920–1942

by Bill Helfman

INTRODUCTION

Japanese American life in Washington Township in southern Alameda County, California, spans a hundred years, reaching back to 1891, when the first Japanese settled in the area.¹ Yet very little has been written about the Japanese Americans' role in the township and contributions to the region's development.

This study focuses on the decades between the two world wars, from the 1920s through the early 1940s, from just prior to the 1924 U.S. Immigration Act, which virtually slammed the door to Japanese immigration until after 1945, to the 1942 Executive Order 9066, which began the forced mass evacuation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. A relatively stable time in terms of Japanese population, this period is also marked by 1920 census data and the 1940s studies of U.S. Department of Agriculture economist Adon Poli. I have supplemented this statistical information by drawing personal stories and insights from my oral history project, *In the Cookhouse and Fields: The Workers of Patterson Ranch*, which includes extensive interviews with three Japanese Americans from pioneer immigrant families whose early memories span this same pre-World War II time, and by researching a two-decade collection of a local weekly newspaper, the *Township Register*.

The conceptual framework for the study is based on an approach to Asian immigrant history articulated by such scholars as Sucheng Chan and Roger Daniels. The starting point of this approach is that the Asian immigrant experience is an integral part of overall national immigrant history and an important piece of America's multiethnic mosaic. Within this approach, Asians are studied alongside, not separated from, the immigrant experience of other groups. This approach recognizes many similarities between Asian immigrants and their European counterparts. All started at the bottom of the economic and social ladder, facing hardship, hostility, prejudice, and economic discrimination. Yet, there is also a profound distinction separating the Asian

experience from that of European immigrants. Asians faced unique legal restrictions based on their race that limited their opportunity to own and lease land and denied them access to citizenship and, in turn, the right to vote and the ability to develop and exercise political power. I have examined Japanese Americans in Washington Township with both this distinction and these similarities in mind.²

Chan and Daniels, among other scholars, also stress the importance of viewing Asians as subjects, not objects, of study. With this view, the focus is not on Asians as solely victims of exploitation but as active participants in their own history, shaping their lives in response to conditions confronting them. I have told the township's Japanese American story as much as possible from such a perspective, describing what Japanese Americans did and accomplished, as opposed to focusing only on what was done to them.

One important limitation to my study is that I was required to rely heavily on English-language sources outside the Japanese American community. With census information, the Poli reports, and township newspapers, I have learned about Japanese Americans mainly from an outsider's vantage point. The use of Japanese language sources, such as interviews with Japanese-speaking first-generation immigrants and Bay Area Japanese-language newspapers, which would have enhanced my ability to tell the story from the community's own perspective, are sources beyond the study's scope. I have, however, used two significant sources from inside the community itself: interviews with second-generation township Japanese Americans and an unpublished local history paper written by another second-generation township member. These interviews and paper provide an independent voice from individuals in the Japanese American community, balance the other sources, and help me tell this story to some extent from the point of view of the Japanese Americans themselves.



Otokichi and Miyo Tsuji, ca. 1900. Pioneers of Washington Township, the Tsujis were the parents of Kimiyo Asakawa, one of the township residents whose oral histories provide information on the Japanese American community's history. *Courtesy of the author and Kimiyo Asakawa.*

BACKGROUND

In a brief statement, Chiyemi Sakuda, a seventy-seven-year-old second-generation Japanese American woman born in the Irvington district of Washington Township in 1916, managed to summarize the early experience of not only her father, but also that of many other first-generation Japanese immigrants:

In 1909, my father, Taijyu Kato, was in his early twenties when he left his family in Hiroshima, Japan, and headed for San Francisco. He anticipated a good and prosperous living in this strange and foreign land, not knowing what to expect. He came with the expectation of getting rich and returning to Japan within a few short years.

He was immediately recruited for work in Santa Cruz in a section gang, setting up steel railroad tracks and ties. With some knowledge of mathematics, he soon learned to survey and helped the surveyor, who taught him some English. Many of his friends from Hiroshima were recruited for work in the strawberry fields in Watsonville. In 1911 he moved to Irvington to a strawberry farm. He started as a farm hand for a commission merchant, later contracted for share crop, tenant, and gradually became an independent farmer.³

Taijyu Kato arrived in the United States in the midst of a three-decade migration of Japanese to this country that began in the 1890s and ended abruptly

in 1924 with the passage of a restrictive immigration act. The period was punctuated throughout by anti-Japanese laws, court rulings, and agreements promoted by a nativist movement in California. Nativism, fueled by economic hard times, had found anti-Asian expression before. An anti-Chinese movement accompanied a period of heavy Chinese immigration in the last half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

With the turn-of-the-century influx of Japanese laborers into the country, in which Taijyu Kato participated, the Japanese inherited the state's hostility toward Asians. One of the first official acts against Japanese immigrants was the "Gentlemen's Agreement," reached between the governments of Japan and the United States in 1907. Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers, thereby limiting future Japanese immigration essentially to women, who came mainly as "picture brides," a system of long distance prearranged marriages. Then in 1913, the California legislature passed an alien land law prohibiting "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from buying land or leasing it for longer than three years. During World War I, because of the nation's food production needs, this law was not strenuously enforced. But a renewed anti-Japanese campaign after the war resulted in a second California alien land law, passed by state ballot initiative in 1920, tightening loopholes in the first land law by ending the ability of Asian aliens to lease farm land altogether. The Japanese Association, an important first-generation immigrant organization, challenged these land laws in the courts with few successes. In 1922, the United States Supreme Court also ruled against the Japanese in the Ozawa decision, confirming the status of the Japanese, as well as other Asian immigrants, as aliens ineligible for naturalized citizenship by reason of race. This ruling was incorporated into federal law when Congress passed the 1924 Immigration Act forbidding immigration by aliens "ineligible to citizenship," thus denying entry to virtually all Asians.⁴ It is against a backdrop of these anti-Japanese measures that Taijyu Kato lived, worked, and raised his family in the California farming community of Washington Township.

DEMOGRAPHICS

In 1920, there were more than 100,000 Japanese living in the United States, two-thirds of them in California. Over a fourth of the nearly 74,000 California Japanese lived in Los Angeles County. Statewide, Japanese were never a large part of any county. The concentration of Japanese in Los Angeles, for instance, although numerically the highest in the state, proportionally comprised only

two percent of that county's population. Five northern California counties—Alameda, Sacramento, Fresno, San Francisco, and San Joaquin—had the next largest population concentrations with about 5,000 Japanese each. Several small farming communities in Sacramento County, including Courtland, Isleton, Walnut Grove, and Florin, experienced a higher than typical proportion of Japanese to the entire population. Such was also the case in Washington Township, Alameda County. The balance of the California Japanese population was scattered in ethnic enclaves in thirty-four other counties.⁵

More than half of the approximately 5,000 Japanese in Alameda County lived in Oakland with another third in the towns of Alameda, Berkeley, San Leandro, Hayward, and Piedmont. The balance, about 875 Japanese, was spread out in the surrounding rural areas, with 300 in Washington Township. Although numerically few, the Japanese in the township represented a relatively large proportion of the small overall population.

Irvington, where Taijyu Kato moved in 1911, was one of seven districts that comprised Washington Township, an agricultural region in Alameda County's southern tip. The township's borders remained relatively unchanged for a hundred years, from the 1850s to the 1950s, and agriculture dominated its economy and landscape throughout this time, including the decades between the two world wars. In 1920, Japanese represented four percent of the total township population of about 8,500 people, but in two township districts, that percentage was even higher. In the Centerville district, Japanese constituted seven percent of the population and in the Alvarado district they constituted twelve percent.⁶ Not until the late 1950s did the township, responding to the pressures of Bay Area post-World War II growth, split into three separate incorporated cities of Fremont, Newark, and Union City, and the area become suburbanized.⁷

This relatively high proportion of Japanese in Washington Township remained constant during the 1920s and 1930s. Japanese population increases, attributable to births rather than immigration, which had been cut off by the 1924 Immigration Act, more than kept pace with a growing township population. By 1942, the township's Japanese population had nearly doubled, from about 300 to 550, while the total population climbed only fifty percent, from about 8,500 to 13,000. The Japanese constituted four percent of the township's total population on the eve of World War II, the same as they had two decades earlier.⁸

The relatively large proportion of Japanese in Washington Township, especially in the Alvarado

DECLARATION OF INTENTION.

State of California, } s.s.
County of Alameda. }

BEFORE THE CLERK OF THE SUPERIOR COURT APPEARED

Takao Ozawa
.....a native of *Japan*
who, being duly sworn, upon his oath declares that it is BONA
FIDE HIS INTENTION to become a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity
to all and any Foreign Prince, Potentate, State and Sovereignty
whatever, and particularly to *Mutsuhito*
Emperor of Japan
.....of whom he is at present a subject. *Takao Ozawa*

Subscribed and Sworn to before me thisday
of *Aug*.....A. D. *1902*
.....Deputy Clerk.

I, *Frank C. Gordon* Clerk of the Superior Court
in and for the County of Alameda, the same being a Court of
Record, having common-Law jurisdiction, a Clerk and Seal, do
hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original
Declaration of Intention of *Takao Ozawa* to become
a Citizen of the United States of America, now of Record in my
office.

TO ATTEST AND CERTIFY WHICH, I have hereunto set
my hand and affixed the Seal of said Court, this
.....day of *Aug*.....A.D. *1902*
Frank C. Gordon Clerk
By.....Deputy.



Portrait of Takao Ozawa (1916) and Ozawa's "Declaration of Intention," which he first filed in 1902 to launch his attempt to acquire American citizenship. An immigrant from Japan, Ozawa graduated from high school in Berkeley, like Washington Township also in Alameda County. As were many immigrants from other countries, Ozawa was adamantly patriotic toward his adopted country. He attended law school at the University of California; English was spoken in his home; and his children attended public schools. "In name, I am not an American," he once wrote, "but at heart I am a true American." When his citizenship application was refused on the grounds that federal law only allowed immigrants who were of European or African descent to be naturalized, Ozawa appealed to the courts, and the litigation dragged on for years. Hoping to establish their right to citizenship, Japanese immigrant groups supported Ozawa's legal efforts. Ultimately, however, the United States Supreme Court, in *Takao Ozawa v. The United States* (1922) rejected his appeal, thereby dooming the efforts of Asian immigrants to become citizens. By virtue of their birth in the United States, their children were automatically citizens, however. Courtesy Yuji Ichioka and the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.

and Centerville districts, however, did not translate into heightened Japanese visibility and presence within the township itself. Although the Japanese developed business districts that served as centers of Japanese commercial and cultural life in other communities, such was not the case here.⁹ From the time Japanese first arrived at the turn of the century through the 1920s, many of the township's Japanese labored in salt works along the bay in the Alvarado district, harvesting, hauling, and packing salt. During this early period, the closest the Japanese came to having their own business and cultural center was a presence in the Chinese district, known alternatively as "Little Tijuana" and "Chinese Alley." With a reputation as one of the township's "toughest" sections, this two-block section of Alvarado had about seventeen buildings, mainly Chinese-operated gambling houses, brothels, and saloons. Japanese salt workers, primarily a bachelor community,



Japanese immigrant fishing village, Santa Monica, ca. 1915. Japanese immigrants to California constituted a diverse population. Although in most areas of the state they initially worked as agricultural laborers or farm operators, in other areas they went into industry—such as the salt laborers of Washington Township—and commerce. In the populous and visible Japanese communities of Los Angeles, many worked as fishermen, with major settlements at San Pedro and Santa Monica. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

frequented this quarter, which had at least two Japanese-owned businesses—a grocery store and a combination pool hall and boarding house for salt laborers. Another building known as the Japanese Hall probably served as an early headquarters for the Japanese Association. In 1927, however, this entire neighborhood went up in flames, and with it went the Japanese community's nascent business center. The origin of the fire remained a mystery according to newspaper accounts, and this section of Alvarado was never rebuilt.¹⁰ Although the township's salt industry remained strong through the 1930s, the Japanese increasingly abandoned it for farming, and by the 1940s, the salt industry was no longer a significant center of Japanese employment.

During the period between the two world wars, the township's Japanese community developed in a way most closely resembling their compatriots in the Santa Clara Valley: scattered farming clusters developing independently throughout the valley

and linked through custom, culture, and shared resources. The major difference between the township Japanese and their Santa Clara Valley counterparts, however, was that the valley Japanese developed their farming communities in reference to the San Jose Nihonmachi, or "Japantown," a central business and cultural district that served as a unifying force for the valley's scattered farms. Beyond the "Little Tijuana" section that went up in flames in the 1920s, the township Japanese never had anything approaching such a center.¹¹

Instead, from the late 1920s through the early 1940s, Japanese farmers in Washington Township had only a few grocery and other stores scattered throughout the various township districts, with no single focus for their commerce. Furthermore, unlike many Japanese communities, the township Japanese had no permanent religious center. A Japanese Protestant church built in the Centerville district—a branch of a Japanese Holiness Church based in San Lorenzo—was established to try to convert Japanese

Christianity. But there was no permanent church building for the Buddhist faith, the primary religion of the township's Japanese.¹²

Without a central business district or permanent Buddhist Church, the township's Japanese lacked prominent signs of an established, mature ethnic community. Yet, neither did the absence of these outward symbols of permanence signify the existence of a transitory community. On the contrary, the township Japanese were clearly permanent settlers, raising families and crops like other ethnic groups. They were, in fact, strongly bound together, as in other Japanese communities, by regular religious and social activities and events. Despite the lack of a permanent building, for example, a minister from a Buddhist church in Alameda, about thirty miles north, traveled weekly to the township to conduct services at rotating farm houses in the various districts. The Japanese community also organized language classes for its children, often conducted in local schools, and held regular festivals and celebrations.

The Japanese community's low profile in Washington Township may have served a purpose. Keeping their religious and social life and institutions unobtrusive and distant from the rest of the township community, the Japanese, despite being a relatively large proportion of the population, were able to remain inconspicuous. By not drawing attention to themselves, they may have protected themselves from the hostility suffered by highly visible Japanese

in other communities. In San Jose, for example, the existence of a Japantown fueled fears among other ethnic groups of growing Japanese presence and economic strength in Santa Clara Valley and may have heightened racial tensions.¹³

With the emergence of a new generation of Japanese Americans—the Nisei—to adulthood in the late 1930s and early 1940s, all this changed. Imbued with the ideals of American democracy through a public school education, they were not content with quiet inconspicuousness. The township's Nisei made their presence more visible than had their parents. They excelled in school, were elected to high-school student body offices, formed a chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League, which conducted a public relations campaign to enhance the image of the Japanese community, and formed economic alliances with other farmers across ethnic lines.¹⁴

ECONOMY

The decades between the two world wars were also a period in which Japanese, despite the obstacles of discriminatory land laws, succeeded in carving out a significant niche in California's farm economy. Japanese immigrants had first come to the United States as laborers, working in railroad, cannery, logging, and other industries. Then, filling a shortage of cheap labor in farming, the Japanese moved into agriculture.

Washing and sorting lemons outside of a packing house, Arlington Heights Fruit Company, Riverside County, ca. 1904.

Many Japanese immigrants worked in packing and canning the abundant produce from California's new fruit industries of the turn-of-the-century period. Correspondence that accompanied this photograph to the Huntington Library indicates that the Japanese workers earned \$1.50 per day for this work. Courtesy Huntington Library.



Originally from agricultural regions in Japan, these immigrants arrived with many of the skills and technological know-how necessary to quickly advance from laborers to independent farmers. By saving wages and often pooling resources, they scraped together funds to lease small plots, usually to grow strawberries, then medium-size tracts to plant tomatoes and a wide variety of vegetables and fruits, and eventually even a few large farms to cultivate row and field crops.

By the eve of World War II, the mark of Japanese farmers on California agriculture was unmistakable. They produced between thirty and thirty-five percent of the value of all commercial truck crops grown in California and were in a dominant position in the distribution system of the state's fruits and vegetables. Japanese especially dominated in crops requiring intensive labor and specialized care, crops capable of being grown on small plots on sometimes marginal land. By the 1940s, they were producing over ninety percent of California's snap beans, strawberries, and celery, and fifty percent of the artichokes, cauliflower, cucumbers, and tomatoes. In the Los Angeles area prior to World War II, Japanese dominated the production and marketing of most of the fresh green vegetables consumed in the region.¹⁵ If Japanese farmers were important to California agriculture, the reverse is also true. According to historian John Modell, "agriculture provided the backbone of an ethnic economy that sustained the Los Angeles Japanese American community until World War II." Scholar Roger Daniels echoes Modell's conclusion and applies it to almost all of Japanese America.¹⁶

Japanese made their impact on California agriculture mainly as tenant farmers on relatively small farms. Hindered from farm ownership by the alien land laws, the Japanese in 1940 owned only twenty-five percent of the farms they operated in the state. Overall in 1940, Japanese-owned farms comprised only about four percent of all the state's farms, and averaged only forty acres. Almost all were in the name of the American-born and hence citizen Nisei, some of whom were still minors. The typical Japanese immigrant farmer in California leased his land and operated a small family enterprise concentrating on fruits, vegetables, and specialty crops.¹⁷

The economic profile of the Japanese in Washington Township closely follows this statewide pattern. At the turn of the century, they worked as laborers in the township's two early industries, railroads and salt. By 1920, Japanese livelihood in Washington Township had shifted away from the railroad industry and now was dominated by two occupations, both centered in township districts.

According to census records for that year, forty-two percent of the township's Japanese work force continued to labor in the salt works, primarily in the Alvarado district. Many of these laborers worked for the Union Pacific Salt Company, which first began harvesting San Francisco Bay salt in the 1860s. Of the 155 Japanese with jobs listed on the 1920 U.S. Census tally sheets, forty-seven were salt laborers. An additional eight Japanese held non-laborer jobs in the industry, seven as foremen and one as an engineer. Reflecting a transition from industrial wage labor to self-employment, nine others were listed as in business for themselves as independent salt packers and haulers.¹⁸

The Japanese immigrants' move from the township's salt industry into agriculture was also clearly visible in 1920. While more than half of the township's Japanese worked as laborers, fully a third of the work force was employed in agriculture, most of them already operating their own farms. Over time, although the salt industry remained important to the township economy throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Japanese increasingly abandoned it for independent farming. By the 1940s, most Japanese in the township were farmers, typically leasing the land they farmed.¹⁹

SOCIAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Japanese social life in Washington Township developed in ways similar to other Japanese communities across the state. Generally, first-generation Issei, like other immigrant groups, were denied access to the social and political life of the larger society, and created a world of their own in the image of their homeland through various religious and social activities and institutions. For instance, like other immigrants, Asian and European alike, they set up associations to provide mutual aid and companionship. There is no record among early Washington Township Japanese immigrants of the most common of these organizations, the *kenjinkai*, or prefectural association. But, such an organization may very well have existed, because many of the Japanese in the township shared a common origin, the prefecture of Hiroshima.

There is evidence of another organization in the township, the Japanese Association of America. The association, the most important pre-World War II Japanese immigrant organization, was founded in the United States with the help of the Japanese government. This association served an important social function, holding annual picnics, celebrating important Japanese festivals, and awarding educational scholarships. It also encouraged acculturation as a



Picking lemons in southern California, ca. 1890s. Japanese immigrants constituted a major group in the large labor force needed to harvest fruit crops in the state's burgeoning orchard industries. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

way to deflect anti-Japanese sentiment and encouraged Japanese to adopt western dress and educate their children in western schools. Further, the Japanese Association was linked to the Japanese government in that it issued immigration documents on behalf of the Japanese consulate, and its officers became the elite members of their communities.²⁰ Chiyemi Sakuda, a long-time township resident, remembered the central role the association played in Washington Township affairs in the 1920s:

They called it the "Nippon Jinki," the Japanese Association. There was one in this vicinity and headquartered in Alvarado, which is Union City. They had a big hall there. That's where most of the Japanese people used to congregate for any functions. He [my father] was influential in that organization. And at that time, that was about the only organization that the Japanese community had.

Then later on the Washington Township JACL [Japanese American Citizens League] formed. But prior to that, that was the only organization that the Japanese community had.²¹

The township Japanese Association was at the center of Japanese life and remained so until the late 1930s, when it was eclipsed by the more activist Japanese American Citizen's League, a new second-generation social and political organization. Over that time, the township's Japanese Association was the official link with the Japanese Consul in San Francisco, reporting deaths and births to the consul for family records in Japan. The association also undertook a wide reach of activities, from establishing Japanese language schools to screening Japanese movies, holding community picnics, and sponsoring baseball competitions. By the 1920s, the organization had negotiated with a local property owner to create a Japanese section in an Irvington district cemetery. Prior to that time, Japanese had not been allowed to use township cemeteries and were forced to wait, sometimes years, as they saved money for ship passage to send family urns to Japan.²²

The Japanese Association, a first-generation organization of non-citizens with ties to a foreign government, was the subject of suspicion by United States authorities in the late 1930s and early 1940s as tension mounted between the United States and military expansionist Japan, and its leaders were among the first interrogated and detained by United States authorities after Pearl Harbor. Chiyemi Sakuda described what happened in 1941 to her father, who was then president of the township's Japanese Association:

Right after Pearl Harbor, he was considered an enemy alien because of the fact that he was a leader of the community. He wasn't the only one; there were others too that were taken in. We didn't know where they were going to ship him. They came to the house and they ransacked it and looked all around for I guess contraband. . . . We didn't know where he was for a few days; he couldn't communicate with us, and we didn't know how to contact him.²³

The first major social change to take place in the Japanese community in the United States was the transformation of the early immigrant male bachelor society into a settled family life. This change was made possible by the immigration of large numbers of women, mainly as "picture brides," during the second decade of the 1900s. Subsequently, the immigrant family unit emerged as the key social institution underlying permanent settlement. With the birth of children, the immigrants became firmly anchored to their new country. Women also served

as unpaid family labor and helped the Japanese become competitive in farming and in other small businesses.

In Washington township, Japanese women of the 1920s worked in their family farms, stores, or laundries, and served as cooks for boarders.²⁴ Harold Fudenna, born in the township's Centerville district in 1918 into a pioneering Japanese farm family, in remembering his mother, noted that "they [Japanese women] had more work than they can handle . . . she [my mother] was first to wake up, last to go to bed . . . always cooking and washing."²⁵ Chiyemi Sakuda provided additional insight into the lives of Issei immigrant women:

Nineteen-eleven, when he [her father] went to Irvington, my mother came. . . . She was a picture bride. The picture bride was a means of marriage arrangements with the family, and the best friend of the family would make arrangements. Then the couple would meet only through exchange of pictures. So when they came into San Francisco, my father said everybody was looking around to see her picture and compare; they wanted to know which one was their wife. So that's how Mother and Dad got married. . . .

Well, of course, a Japanese woman endures hardship. They knew what they were coming into. They struggled; the Japanese women did struggle. Coming into a strange land, and not only that, but the husband whom they married was a total stranger till they met. You can imagine what that was like. . . .

Speaking further of her mother, Sakuda addressed the importance placed on children:

She was a lovable mother and she worked hard. She used to carry my younger sisters on her back and go out there and pick strawberries. She worked real hard. Japanese people feel that their children are the most priceless and precious possession. . . . My mother used to do all the washing at night and then go out in the field with the others. Then we older sisters took care of the younger ones. I don't know how the older generation lived. They were made out of steel or something. They worked hard.

Then they started having children. So their hopes of ever going back didn't mature, because they felt that the children were naturalized citizens, so they wanted to make the best for the family. So they stuck it out.²⁶

Celebrating traditional festivals provided another way to maintain and reinforce community and culture. Like their fellow Japanese in the nearby Santa Clara Valley, the Washington Township immigrants celebrated Japanese New Year as the largest social event of the year. Homes in the community were open to friends and relatives, who visited and feasted from house to house, welcoming in the new year.²⁷ Harold Fudenna's description of a typical

New Year's celebration of the 1930s provides insight not only into the celebration itself, but also into the traditional role played by first-generation Japanese women:

The mothers would cook for 3-4 days in advance and New Year's day they would set all kinds of goodies, New Year's food, on the table. And the men in the family would visit your family, just greet each other, "Happy New Year," and she would be home waiting for me to come and my wife would be home waiting for you to come and pretty soon, I don't know, we'd be all drunk. We'd all take one drink of sake in little cups. By the end of the day you're pretty much drunk. Somehow we'd wind up in somebody's place and they were having a big old party. That used to go on for a week—at least three days. As we kids got older we started driving cars. Fourteen years old we could drive cars then. I used to be able to chauffeur our fathers around. To your place and the next place and over there and there and all over the place. It was fun.²⁸

The Buddhist church was a powerful organizing force in California's Japanese communities. Most of Washington Township's Japanese immigrants were Buddhists, and the church certainly was central to their lives. A Buddhist minister traveled from another church, first in Oakland and later in Alameda, to conduct weekly services in private homes in Irvington, Centerville, and Alvarado.²⁹ "We never had a church here. . . ." Mrs. Sakuda remembered this arrangement. "We attended in Alameda, and the minister used to come to the homes once a week. Then they'd hold a Sunday school and adult classes, only for about two hours. So that was the only religious service we had."³⁰ For major religious services, the township Japanese traveled on all-day Sunday excursions to Alameda, since the Buddhist church in the township had no permanent home until 1962.³¹ As part of the acculturation process and the desire not to be viewed as foreign, many Japanese immigrants in this country became Christian. A branch of a Protestant church called the Protestant Japanese Holiness Church was established in Centerville in the hopes of winning converts among the township's Japanese.³²

While younger Japanese strived for place and permanence within American society, many older Japanese still faced a cultural barrier imposed by their inability to speak or read English. For most of them, the Japanese language newspaper was the only source of world news.³³ Mrs. Sakuda verified the importance of such newspapers, which were published in San Francisco and delivered by mail. "The Japanese daily newspaper was the only means of communication at that time," she recalled. "I remember my dad how he looked at his time and

Japanese children, many of them American-born, at a Methodist Church kindergarten in San Francisco, with their Caucasian teacher, ca. 1913. It was with the birth of the Nisei, the American-born second generation of Japanese Americans who were citizens, that the immigrant community began to take on the character of permanence. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



looked forward for the postman to come. No matter how busy he was, he had to look at the front page."³⁴

Other elements of the Japanese experience in Washington Township, however, were less positive. Illicit enterprises, like gambling and prostitution, existed in Japanese immigrant communities throughout the state. Tension sometimes existed between Japanese and Chinese communities because Chinese, as gambling house operators, were often blamed by Japanese community leaders for the loss of hard-earned income.³⁵ Washington Township appears to have been no exception. Kimiyo Asakawa, recognized as the first Japanese American born in Washington Township (in 1903), described the township gambling situation. In a rare moment of emotion in an interview that was generally straightforward, she reported that Japanese salt workers frequented Chinese gambling houses in the "Little Tijuana," or Chinese Alley," section of Alvarado, and in her description, revealed a tension between the two communities:

Oh yes, I remember when I was a girl that there was quite a place, all the gambling. Oh dear, it was all lit up at night. I guess that's why the Chinese made all their money. Took it all away from our people that worked in the salt works. And that's what they did, took all their money and left it there, gambled it away.³⁶

A NEW GENERATION

The most notable change in the Japanese, as well as other Asian immigrant communities, between the

two world wars was the appearance of a sizable American-born generation. This second-generation, the Nisei, were typically born after 1918 and were beginning to come of legal age in the late 1930s and early 1940s. On the eve of World War II, the Nisei actually outnumbered their immigrant parents. The Nisei's legal status as citizens enabled their non-citizen parents to circumvent the land leasing and owning restrictions of the alien land law. Land that was out of reach or in the custody of non-Asian friends or associates could now be securely placed in the name of citizen children. But while the Issei gained greater control over their land, they lost a measure of control over their children. Growing up in America, the Nisei adopted American values, often in conflict with the values of their parents. American ideas of individual freedom and independence clashed with traditional Japanese patriarchal values of obedience and unquestioning respect.

The Nisei did, however, receive education in Japanese culture through Japanese language schools. In Washington Township, such schools were established in four of the township's seven districts and operated for one hour after regular school on weekdays and for half a day on Saturdays. Corresponding to Japanese township population concentration, these schools existed in Irvington, Centerville, Alvarado, and Warm Springs. Students studied reading, writing, conversation, and art, and the girls also learned sewing. But the language schools were not central to the Nisei, whose primary focus was the American education they received in the public

schools. Perhaps epitomizing township youths' attitude toward the language schools, which were important to the Issei for transmitting Japanese culture, Harold Fudenna recalled his priorities as a teenager. His attendance at the ethnic institutions, he said diplomatically, "tapered off" in high school because he was involved in other activities, most notably sports.³⁷

Although the Nisei learned all the civics lessons about democracy and opportunity in public schools, their real life experiences fell short of the ideal. Despite the desire to enter and succeed fully in the larger society, racial barriers kept the Nisei in the same ethnic enclaves that restricted their Issei parents. Despite college educations, the Nisei were forced by discrimination, as well as by economic effects of the Depression, to stick with their parents' farms. The conflicts between generations over cultural value issues in many ways took a back seat to the struggle to survive economically.³⁸

INTERACTION WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Washington Township had a diverse population, including a large number of southern European immigrants from Portugal and Italy, as well as smaller numbers from northern Europe, Mexico, China, and Japan. As in other communities throughout California, the township's Japanese lived side by side with other ethnic groups, but remained socially separate, with their own distinct institutions and organizations. The township's ethnic communities did meet to some extent, however, in at least one arena, the public schools.

Generally, Japanese students were characterized by good behavior and better than average grades in public schools. This was reflected locally in the pages of the *Township Register*, a weekly newspaper based in the Niles district. The paper's sparse reporting of the Japanese community was sprinkled throughout the 1920s and 1930s with news about Japanese student achievements, awards, and involvement in extracurricular activities. The paper noted in 1928, for instance, that three of sixteen township high school students admitted to the California Scholarship Federation were Japanese Americans. That represented nearly twenty percent of those admitted to the honors society, at a time when Japanese comprised less than four percent of the entire student body of Washington Union High School, the township's only high school. Vernon Ichisaka's name appeared in the paper in 1928 as the newly elected high school student body treasurer, and again as an alternate on the debate team. The following year Ichisaka was mentioned as past editor

of *The Hatchet* and current editor of *The Washingtonian*, both high school student publications. Ichisaka was also listed as one of thirty-one Japanese students and alumni who donated a \$350 radio and phonograph to the high school. This high-achieving acculturated second-generation Japanese American figured prominently once again more than a decade later; as president of the local Japanese American Citizens League in 1942, he urged cooperation with authorities during relocation.³⁹

Despite the apparent success of Japanese American students in integrating into high school affairs, Mr. Vermilda Sylva, a Portuguese American who attended Washington Union High in the 1930s, described an environment of very prescribed social relations:

The Japanese were really into school, as far as the classes were concerned; they were all very friendly. But their social life and their home life was entirely separate. . . . You have three distinct social strata here. You had the Japanese; you had the Portuguese; and you had everybody else who wasn't either Japanese or Portuguese. . . . They each kept to their own social. . . . If a Japanese fellow tried to kind of walk with a girl that wasn't Japanese, well that was terrible. So everybody kept to their own. . . . We were all friendly at school; there was no discrimination. . . . It's just the way things were.⁴⁰

Sylva's description fits the general state-wide pattern in which the Nisei found themselves socially confined to their own group. Interracial dating was frowned upon by parents of all communities. Another native township resident and contemporary of Mrs. Sylva, Harold Fudenna, confirmed this situation. Growing up in the Warm Springs district, he led a segregated social life, associating primarily with the children of the few other Japanese families in that area.⁴¹

Throughout California in the 1930s, all but a few Nisei were confined, not only socially but also economically, within the Japanese community of their parents. Discrimination combined with the depression to restrict the Nisei's job opportunities despite their education and motivation. Few second-generation college graduates could find jobs commensurate with their education and training. As in Los Angeles and other Japanese communities across the state, young township Japanese tried to break away from the farming life within which they grew up, but most could not make the break. Kimiyo Asakawa described how one Irvington district young man, after graduating from college, could not find an American firm that would hire him; he moved to Japan to work for a Japanese corporation rather than face a life of farming on his family's township berry farm. A Japanese American woman, reported Asakawa, with teaching credential in hand,

farm laborers from their beds in the middle of the night and forcibly ran them out of that San Joaquin Valley town. Fortunately, nothing approaching that happened in Washington Township, where life for township Japanese through the 1920s and 1930s was peaceful. But the township was not immune to the prejudice that fueled such physical violence. In 1922, a time of heightened opposition to Japanese land ownership, a barrage of anti-Japanese speeches was delivered to large, receptive township audiences. In one such speech, J. H. MacLafferty, identified in newspaper articles as an expert on the "Japanese question," warned:⁴⁴

Being Japanese, these . . . people cannot be swallowed up in our melting pot, and what is more, they do not want to be. This is a problem that must be faced by Americans and Californians in particular. Already in California the Japanese control the potato business, the strawberry business and some other lines. . . .

Not with sword or rifle has the Japanese come among us to conquer, but unobtrusively and smilingly, and in many instances welcomed by us. Our anti-land leasing bills are simply an attempt at a palliative. No one imagines they are a cure. . . . Just as Hawaiian citizens are today crying to us Californians for aid and sympathy, so we Californians will find ourselves crying to all America far louder than now for a realization on their part of the problem that confronts all America in general and ourselves in particular.⁴⁵

Another form of hostility against Asians was economic discrimination. This has been clearly documented in Santa Clara Valley farming communities adjacent to Washington Township. White landowners there continued to lease to Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s, despite alien land laws, but at a premium rate and often with an extra commission of five to seven percent of crop sale added on. No evidence so far indicates that township Japanese were exploited in this way by landlords eager to profit from the restrictions imposed by the alien land laws. To the contrary, evidence suggests that lease terms for Japanese in Washington Township were equivalent to those charged to others. At Patterson Ranch, one of the largest farms in the township, spread over several thousand acres near the bay, all tenants in the 1920s and 1930s were charged the same quarter-share crop rent.⁴⁶

Beyond these equal lease terms, indeed, evidence exists of economic cooperation between Japanese and the township's other farmers. Similar to a situation in Los Angeles, where Japanese and non-Japanese farm operators allied in common self-interest against striking Mexican farm laborers, farmers in Washington Township built an economic alliance across

ethnic lines. Specifically, in 1936 township tomato growers joined vegetable growers across the state to secure better prices for canning tomato contracts. One hundred and twenty-five township tomato growers met in January and February of that year and voted to support a \$15 tonnage price, part of a statewide effort of vegetable growers to affect the price paid to farmers by the canning industry. Harry Konda of Irvington, an officer in the township JACL, attended this meeting representing Japanese growers and declared that the non-Japanese township growers who were in the process of organizing themselves into a cannery vegetable growers' association, could count on support from the Japanese growers. Konda pledged that Japanese farmers would hold out for the \$15 price along with the others. Japanese growers were clearly separate and not part of the new growers' organization, but with economic interests overlapping, the two farm groups worked cooperatively for their common good. Cooperation between Japanese and non-Japanese farmers on the tonnage price issue in 1936 was not typical throughout the state, however. In San Joaquin and Sacramento counties, for instance, "foreign" growers were reported to have broken with the state-wide effort to set prices and signed separate contracts with the canning industry.⁴⁷

The alien land laws passed by the state legislature in 1913 and 1920 institutionalized economic hostility against Asians. In practice, although they were at first weakly enforced, the laws' official restriction against leasing and owning land represented a threat hanging over the heads of Japanese farmers, making land ownership speculative and unpredictable, subject to the pressure of anti-Japanese forces. One clear impact of these laws in Washington Township, similar to what occurred statewide, was that the laws served to hinder economic advancement, maintaining Japanese farmers' status predominantly as tenants instead of farm owners. Most township Japanese farmers leased their land in 1920 and twenty years later, with few exceptions, still leased. Japanese farmers in the township, like their counterparts elsewhere in the state, succeeded in farming to the extent they did by circumventing the land laws. This was accomplished by such tactics as purchasing land in the name of native-born, citizen sons and daughters, "borrowing" names of American citizens, and setting up "dummy" corporations.

All three tactics were used in Washington Township. For example, the citizen children of two of the few township Japanese landowning families, the Katos and Fudennas, appeared in a pre-World War II government property survey as owning twenty acres each. Harold Fudenna's brother James

and Mrs. Chiyemi Sakuda, then Chiyemi Kato, were listed as the owners of their family's farm. The Judennas had at first bought their twenty acres through a trusted non-Japanese friend, Frank Reynolds, and later transferred title to their oldest son, James, when he reached adulthood. Some township Japanese farmers utilized a "dummy" corporation. Until their children reached adulthood, these farmers leased their land through the Bay Farm Corporation, which was formed by the Japanese Association and had Nisei citizen officers and a non-Japanese San Francisco attorney.⁴⁸

As America and Japan moved toward war in the late 1930s and early 1940s, suspicion rose about the Japanese who lived in the United States. Japan's military expansion into Korea and China turned the United States press and public opinion against Japanese here. The JACL led the way by countering anti-Japanese sentiment with public relations efforts aimed at reassuring Americans about the loyalty of the Japanese American community. In Los Angeles, despite sparse membership, the JACL organized a mass "I am an American" rally in May 1941 to demonstrate the community's loyalty. The Washington Township JACL also participated actively in these public relations efforts. The local paper, where no mention of the JACL had occurred for years since announcements of its formation in 1934-35, contained a flurry of favorable articles in late 1941 about JACL activities. One *Township Register* article reported a dinner held by the JACL for local newspaper reporters and publishers, at which Nisei JACL officers distanced themselves from their Japanese roots, while at the same time attesting to the loyalty of their parents.⁴⁹

The dozen officers of the group stated they spoke Japanese with difficulty, could read and write but little of it, and expected that in another generation the use of the language would probably be lost among Japanese descendants in this country.

The older generation, Japanese-born people who had lived in this country most of their lives had no wish to return to their homeland, but had come to love America and its freedom.⁵⁰

The same article also sought to establish the Japanese community's patriotism by outlining the JACL's heritable contributions to such all-American organizations as the local Boy Scouts and Red Cross, as well as by reminding township residents that twelve members of the JACL were serving in the United States armed forces.⁵¹

On another occasion, the *Township Register* reported a public event sponsored by the JACL as part of their "Civilian Defense Week" program in which, in an attempt to court favor with local author-

ities, they had the Alameda County sheriff as their guest speaker on the topic of local civil defense. Prior to the event, the JACL hosted a special dinner honoring the sheriff.⁵²

Immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the local JACL issued a statement, published in the *Township Register*, condemning the bombing and asserting their loyalty. Interestingly, it distinguished between themselves, the Nisei, and their Issei parents. The statement implied that Americans could trust the Nisei because they were citizens and addressed the question of Issei loyalty separately:

The Japanese American Citizens League unequivocally condemns Japan for its attack upon American soil, our country. We pledge our services unreservedly to the officials and authorities of our country, the United States of America.

We are confident that our parents who are aliens because the laws of this country have denied them the privilege of naturalization will stand by us and will abide by the laws of their adopted land as good residents.

The Washington Township chapter of the Japanese American League will stand by in readiness for any emergency and pledge our cooperation in every way with civic and federal authorities.⁵³

In communities throughout the state, the JACL urged everyone to cooperate with government authorities, and some Nisei actually served as FBI informers on supporters of Japan within the Japanese American community. In an open letter to the people of Washington Township, written just days after the forced evacuation on May 9, 1942, of about six hundred Japanese from the township to a relocation assembly center at Tanforan in San Bruno, Vernon Ichisaka, the high-achieving student who was now president of the Washington Township JACL chapter, articulated the JACL's position of cooperation:⁵⁴

Our group has adopted the policy of selecting the course that will produce the most good for the welfare of the nation. Together with sixty other member chapters of our National J.A.C.L., we have pledged our cooperation to the Army and the Federal Government in this evacuation. We have offered our assistance to the Authorities all along, in order that we may help to hasten the winning of this war in which the democratic principles are at stake. . . . If our evacuation will help to strengthen the morale of the general public—we feel we are also contributing our part for an early victory of our Democracy's forces.⁵⁵

In a demonstration of their public-spiritedness, if not also their sense of irony, on the day before the evacuation, Ichisaka joined JACL past president

Harry Konda to make two civic donations on behalf of the township's chapter. One was a \$250 gift to Washington Union High School to fund an annual oratorical contest on, of all things, the virtues of citizenship. The other was a \$100 contribution to the U.S.O. "in lieu of donations which would have been made by the Japanese residents had they still been here when the annual drive begins next Monday." The *Township Register* reported these gifts as "two gestures of solid American citizenship."⁵⁶

Another newspaper article underscored the extent to which the JACL township chapter went to prove its loyalty. In January 1942, before the evacuation, the chapter's civilian defense and welfare committee, chaired by the now familiar Vernon Ichisaka, coordinated a voluntary collection of weapons and cameras. The chapter turned in to the county sheriff a collection of seventy-one guns and rifles, one pistol, and eighty-eight cameras from the township's Japanese community. At the same time, the chapter also turned in fifty radio sets, under order of the sheriff, to local radio repair shops to render the short wave function of the radios inoperative. The article went on to report that the JACL was helping to map the location and identity of every Japanese resident in the township:

The local Chapter, at the Sheriff's request is drawing up a detail map of Washington Township, with a dot showing the home of each Japanese family, foreign as well as American born, together with the number in family, telephone number and mail address. The Sheriff is to have one of these maps in his office and the local Chapter will retain a copy in the home of one of its officers, in order to assist the Sheriff's office should occasion require.⁵⁷

Beyond demonstrating loyalty and cooperation with authorities, the collection of weapons may have been intended to prevent violence. If this was the case, it was apparently not entirely successful. The voluntary weapons collection followed an incident in which a township Japanese resident had been arrested the preceding month for illegally possessing firearms. A rifle, shotgun, and revolver were found in the home of Yukio Kita. While free on \$500 bail in February 1942, after the voluntary mass turn-in of weapons, Kita, the paper reported, was "mysteriously stabbed."⁵⁸

The JACL public relations effort ultimately failed, washed away by the nationwide hysteria against the Japanese. A Gallup Poll taken in 1942 revealed that the public thought of the Japanese as "treacherous, sly, cruel, warlike," reflecting how the press was covering the war in Asia. This was manifested in Washington Township by an about-face in the way the local press viewed the township's Japanese.

Press coverage shifted from benign neglect in the 1930s to vitriolic editorials in 1942. Likely reflecting a shift in township public opinion, this change sharply unfolded within the pages of the *Township Register*. A 1934 article reporting the death of Kiic Fudenna, Harold Fudenna's father, said the elder Fudenna "was highly respected as an excellent farmer." Another article, reporting on an annual Americanization Pageant held at the local high school in May 1941 praised Japanese as model Americans. After quoting extensively from "Japanese-American Creed" written by a Nisei living in Salt Lake City, the article concluded that Nisei, although "born of alien parents are in every way upright, loyal, and progressive American Citizens." And as late as early March 1942, editorials in the *Township Register*, although clearly favoring the removal of Japanese from the area, could even be considered somewhat even-handed. One editorial, referring to the impending evacuation, showed a degree of respect and sympathy:⁵⁹

The Nisei as a group are between two fires; that they can be good sports about it is to be commended. They did not start this war, nor did we; and if the authorities feel better with all Japanese removed well into the interior then that's the way it has to be.

The decent members of the Nisei should regard their migration inland as a great adventure, rather than a tragedy.⁶⁰

As the war intensified in Asia, and the forced removal of the township's Japanese approached, however, the editorial pages of this same paper changed dramatically. Measured consideration for the Japanese gave way to racist hysteria. "Sayonara to the Japanese!" one editorial headline screamed. Lacking utterly the sympathy and respect the newspaper had shown just two months before, the editorial railed:

When the sun rises . . . next Monday morning, May 4 over Washington Township Old Sol will beam down on something he has not seen since the beginning of the Township:

No Japanese anywhere, except some few confined to hospitals or temporarily excused from evacuation for other reasons. . . .

In their new locations the Japanese can prove whether they wish to support the American way of life, or not.⁶¹

In the end, national and world events and the dominant anti-Asian prejudice of the majority overtook the efforts of the local JACL to integrate themselves into the greater township community. Bridges built by the JACL to non-Japanese individuals, organizations, and officials were, in large part, swept away by the hysteria of war. The forced evacuation

**WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION**

**Presidio of San Francisco, California
May 3, 1942**

**INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY**

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the County of Alameda, State of California, within the boundary beginning at the point where the southerly limits of the City of Oakland meet San Francisco Bay; thence easterly and following the southerly limits of said city to U. S. Highway No. 50; thence southerly and easterly on said Highway No. 50 to its intersection with California State Highway No. 21; thence southerly on said Highway No. 21 to its intersection, at or near Warm Springs, with California State Highway No. 17; thence southerly on said Highway No. 17 to the Alameda-Santa Clara County line; thence westerly and following said county line to San Francisco Bay; thence northerly, and following the shoreline of San Francisco Bay to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

920 - "C" Street,
Hayward, California.

Each permit will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency. The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and contents.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
 - (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
 - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
 - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
 - (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
 - (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. I. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

32 CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 34.

and relocation of the entire township Japanese community served, of course, to isolate that community as never before. Still, the township's Japanese Americans who lived through the evacuation recalled both acts of kindness and malice during these times. Harold Fudenna, in the United States Army at the time, recounted white friends who abandoned his family, as well as good neighbors who stood by them:⁶²

Our families had to go to Niles and were put on a train there. Some people came to say goodbye, others came to shout bad words, "good riddance" and all that; evil signs. I've told that to some of my friends afterwards. "Ah, no," he says, "I wasn't there. I've never heard of that." But why should they [my family] tell me that if it wasn't so?

If you had a car, you had to get rid of it. They wouldn't give you half of what it's worth. But something is better than nothing. So some of them were just stolen. Now there were other people that were pretty damn decent about it. They knew they could have taken it if they wanted. But they didn't. . . . One of them I remember is still a good friend, Mr. Alan Hirsch in Irvington. He bought my sister-in-law's Buick Century. Alan bought that car at the market-going price. He didn't have to do that. He could have said, "I'll give you \$100-200" and just taken it. . . . Joe Adams, he was a Ford dealer. I understood he was real nice about it. He said, "You guys bring your cars over hear and I'll buy it at the blue book." And he did. He didn't pay over, but he paid the blue book. Some of these people were quite fair about it. At least I was told. Boy they sure could have taken it too, if they wanted to, at the time, because they didn't have much time to dispose of it anyhow.

Fudenna continued his reflections on the period, leaving off at the point Japanese returned to their township farms and homes after the war. Although

(At left): After the declaration of war by the United States against Japan in late 1941, groups that had been engaged in anti-Japanese immigrant activities for decades stepped up their efforts to deport the Japanese Americans. Submitting to these pressures, which were particularly strong in California, the federal government, using as a pretext the fictitious claim that the group was potentially traitorous, ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the Japanese in bleak, concentration-camp-like "relocation centers" at sites remote from the Pacific Coast. Relocation for the duration of World War II took an enormous toll on the Japanese Americans, in terms of violated civil rights, confiscated land, buildings, personal property, and funds, and lost self-respect and family stability. This 1942 poster summoned the Japanese Americans of Washington Township—non-citizens and citizens alike—to report to a center in Hayward to begin their imprisonment. *Editorial Office Collection.*



Washington Township residents Kimiyo Asakawa and daughter (left) at a World War II relocation camp, 1945, and street scene at one of the camps, probably Manzanar, in the Owens Valley of eastern California. Decades after the war, using the newly passed Freedom of Information Act, historians and attorneys secured copies of government records that documented how federal prosecutors and military officials had withheld, and thus distorted, evidence submitted to the Supreme Court in cases that had legalized the wartime imprisonment of Japanese Americans. The cases were reopened, and in the mid-1980s the federal courts, on the grounds of government "misconduct of the most fundamental character," overturned the convictions of several Japanese Americans who had refused to go to the camps. After a U. S. government commission on the internment also concluded that the imprisonment was a "grave injustice" motivated by "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership," Congress in 1988 passed a bill apologizing for the government's violation of the civil rights of the internees and providing monetary reparations for the 65,000 internees who were still alive. *Asakawa photograph courtesy author and Kimiyo Asakawa; camp photograph from Bob Nakamura Collection, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles.*

owhere near their pre-war population because any who had leased instead of owned their farms never returned, the township Japanese community began to form again. Fudenna remembered that

We had a neighbor in Warm Springs, Gloria and Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong. They were nice people. I've never been to Tanforan because I was in the service, but I understand that practically every week they visited them [my family]. They came to Tanforan with some goodies, fruits. Anything they [my family] wanted done, checked on at our place across the street, they'd do it. They were real nice people. When we got back I think Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong had passed away, but Gloria was still alive and living in that house by herself. Our wives really took care of her . . . and still do to this day. . . .⁶³

CONCLUSION

The Japanese experience in Washington Township between 1920 and 1942 in many ways typified the experience of the Japanese throughout California between the two world wars. During much of this period, as in other Japanese communities, the township Japanese lived a relatively self-contained life, with separate institutions and activities isolated from the rest of the populace. However, several distinguishing features set the Washington Township Japanese experience apart from that of other communities. The township Japanese community lacked prominent physical signs of permanence that were commonly visible in other small farming communities with similarly large concentrations of Japanese. Unlike those other communities, the township Japanese never established a central business district or home for their Buddhist church. A nascent commercial and cultural center did emerge in the 1920s, during which time the Japanese concentrated several stores and community activities in a Chinese section of the township's Alvarado district. But after that section of Alvarado burned down in the late 1920s, the Japanese community's commercial and cultural life remained scattered, with a few grocery and other stores sprinkled throughout the four districts of Alvarado, Centerville, Irvington, and Warm Springs. In lieu of a permanent site and building for their Buddhist faith, the local Japanese worshipped in rotating farm houses, led by a visiting minister from another town. The Japanese community, however, was not impermanent. Keeping a low profile, they

enjoyed a full and vital community life, quietly farming, raising families, and beginning the process of assimilating to American society. The absence of visible signs of permanence may even have served to keep attention and hostility away from them.

The Japanese in Washington Township, like other Japanese in California, clearly felt the effect of the institutionalized discrimination of the state's alien land laws. Hindered by those laws, few township Japanese farmers managed to progress from tenancy to ownership. Yet, the discriminatory lease and sharecropping terms, prevalent in other communities, apparently did not exist in the township, and evidence even suggests economic cooperation among farmers across ethnic lines. By the late 1930s, the Japanese community, led by a new generation of citizen Japanese Americans, became much more visible than their immigrant parents. A well-subscribed local chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League actively cultivated relationships with township officials and the community at large. Led by this new generation, Japanese farmers united with other township farmers in the late 1930s to try to control prices for canning vegetables.

In the end, of course, distinctions between the Japanese in the township and those in other communities became inconsequential in wartime. The township Japanese, like nearly all Japanese in California, were forcibly removed from their farms and homes, overwhelmed by events being played out on a much larger, worldwide scale. CIS

See notes beginning on page 88.

Bill Helfman holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of California, Irvine, and is currently completing a master's degree in public history at California State University, Hayward. He received an East Bay Regional Park District Martin Luther King, Jr., Internship to produce an oral history, In the Cookhouse and Fields: The Workers of Patterson Ranch, published by the park district in 1990. Most recently he has served as an oral history consultant for the City of San Jose Historical Museum and as editor of the Foothill-De Anza Community College District Archives Oral History Program.



Freeways such as the Santa Ana in Orange County, shown in this 1955 aerial view, which were built to expedite urban travel, also fostered development of the smaller communities and agricultural lands through which they cut. *Courtesy California Department of Transportation.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II.

Edited By Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 307 pp., \$34.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Fred W. Viehe, associate professor of history at Youngstown State University and author of several articles on suburbanization and Los Angeles.

Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II is part of a new genre of multidisciplinary anthologies focusing on urban history that has appeared recently. While historians contributed most to this anthology, other essays are written by attorneys, demographers, sociologists, and others interested in urban studies.

What is unique about this work is that instead of focusing on a single city, or a group of cities, *Postsuburban California* concerns a county, specifically Orange County. For approximately half the period under consideration, Orange County often was a source of humor for comedians and of study for political scientists and sociologists. Rarely was the region given serious consideration by historians. But in this anthology, Rob Kling and his co-editors, as well as the authors of the several essays, argue that Orange County not only is worthy of historical analysis, but also deserves serious scrutiny by others interested in urban development. The reason for this changed attitude is that this region is no longer seen as a humorous backwater but, on the contrary, as an urbanization's cutting edge. Professors Gottdiener and Ephart described this new attitude best when they concluded their essay that Orange County is a classic example of a new phenomenon, the multinucleated metropolitan region.

As mentioned above, most of the essays concern historical topics. The best, in my opinion, is by Martin Schiesl concerning the Irvine Company's impact on suburban development. There also is an excellent essay by Debra Gold Hansen and Mary P. Ryan on the historic development of Orange County's Fourth of July celebrations. It is one of the best essays that I have yet seen employing the New Cultural interpretation in urban history. Other essays concern Orange County's labor force, consumption patterns, family values, and recent political history. Needless to say, the essays are well researched, superbly written, and make this entire volume, brilliantly conceived.

At a time when urban history seems to be in a quandary, Rob Kling and his co-editors have made a significant attempt to provide direction. By joining history with the most recent developments in other social sciences, they have placed the capstone on the argument that we focus our attention on the historic development of the suburban region, rather than bemoan the collapse of the downtown. For that conclusion, they are to be really commended.

CHS

Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940.

By John M. Findlay. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, xiv, 394 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by William Issel, professor of history and urban studies at San Francisco State University and author of *Social Change in the United States, 1945-1983*.

This book describes city building in the post-World War II western United States as propelled by a distinctly regional culture and consciousness. An earlier generation of historians regarded "virgin land" as the key that unlocked the secret of cultural development in America. John M. Findlay identifies "virgin cities" as the crucial ingredient for explaining the decentralized nature of contemporary urban history. The "virgin cities" mindset, the author argues, extended earlier regional preferences for wide-open spaces to postwar city-building, and incorporated into the new metropolitan areas elements of the new mass-based popular culture and, more recently, the desire to protect amenities by limiting growth. The western state of mind, according to Findlay, was particularly in evidence in the principles that governed the construction of four projects during the mid-1950s: Disneyland; Stanford Industrial Park; Sun City (Arizona); and the Seattle World's Fair. Dubbing these projects "Magic Lands," Findlay argues that the planners and entrepreneurs who created them, and the visitors and residents who used them, participated in a novel and influential cultural experience that resonated throughout the region and the nation and contributed to reshaping the national culture.

Professor Findlay's interpretation of postwar metropolitan development is well-argued and will command interest, particularly among those readers skeptical of political and economic explanations of recent American urban development. Many readers, however, will regard the author's major contribution to derive from his substantive chapters on the four "magic lands." Here, in contrast to his more speculative and theoretical material, Findlay presents a thoroughly documented and imaginatively analyzed description based on prodigious research into documentary records, cultural materials, and oral history interviews. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the narratives on Disneyland ("the happiest place on earth") and Stanford Industrial Park ("downtown for silicon valley"). Both projects appear to Findlay to recapitulate what he regards as a sequence of developmental dynamics central to recent western urban history: a desire to reject the eastern model; a love affair with the automobile; maintenance of order based upon controlled access to urban amenities; and a determination to preserve amenities by limiting future growth.

Magic Lands stands as an extended essay aimed at rebutting those urban analysts, whether historians, geographers, political

scientists, or pundits, who have criticized western American urban development for its presumed "fragmented" or "disconnected" society, its "centerless" horizontal character, its dependence on the automobile, and its "plastic" culture. Findlay suggests that westerners experienced their built environments as positive opportunities, particularly in contrast with places they had left behind. Whether or not one agrees with Findlay's mildly celebratory point of view toward his subject, the new historical information contained in his book makes the volume an important addition to the historiography of the twentieth-century urban west. CHS

Sir Francis Drake.

By John Sugden. (New York: Henry Holt, 1991, 355 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Robert G. Ritchie, director of research, the Huntington Library, San Marino.

While it may seem that biographies of Francis Drake abound, in fact, Sir Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898) is the last true biography of the Elizabethan hero. We now have John Sugden's exceptionally fine book. This work benefits from the many studies of aspects of Drake's career that have been published since Corbett, and from Sugden's careful examination of the manuscript sources. The result is a full life of Drake that dwells on every aspect of his career from the landowner and local officeholder in Devon, to the most famous naval hero of his day. The intertwining of these two careers is important because the brilliant maritime adventures overshadow the long periods spent ashore between voyages. Yet his career at sea benefitted from his activities on land, where he built alliances and acquired funding and the ever-necessary patrons. In turn Drake reaped the benefits of his maritime successes, not just in plunder, but in offices and land. For like ambitious men of his time he sought fame and fortune and a dynasty, established on the land, to carry forward his name.

The greatest strength of Sugden's work is his judicious telling of the "hero's" life. Drake left surprisingly few records about certain aspects of his career, while his enemies and rivals often filled reams of paper about his actions. This can be a recipe for disaster for an unwary biographer. Sugden, however, patiently works his way through the available evidence to arrive at a believable narrative. For instance, Drake's journal of the famous circumnavigation voyage was suppressed and then lost. The surviving accounts are not always favorable to Drake, but Sugden marshalls all the evidence and melds this with a shrewd evaluation of Drake's character and goals to convince the reader that there is unlikely to be a more convincing interpretation of the events. He even navigates his way through the perilous shoals of Nova Albion. He simply settles for getting Drake to the area

of San Francisco Bay and then without a great deal of analysis settles on Drake's Estero as the probable site of his encampment. This might not please revisionists such as Harry Kelsey who do not believe we can ever know how far north Drake sailed. Having settled Drake on land, Sugden then concentrates on Drake's relationship with the local Indians while he prepared to cross the Pacific. Thus Sugden steers around the problems of place to discuss the one aspect of Drake's stay about which there is some evidence.

One of the great strengths of this work is Sugden's delineation of Drake's character. He does not settle for a simple portrayal of a brilliant Renaissance character. Rather he traces the evolution of his persona from the irresolute young man of the Vera Cruz incident, during which he left Hawkins in the lurch while saving himself and never providing an adequate explanation of his behavior to friend or foe; to the brash young strategist who terrorized Spain and the Spanish empire while out-thinking and out-fighting his enemies; to the tired irresolute old man of the final voyage who arrived late, dallied around when he should have attacked, and who lingered long enough to catch the disease that struck him down. Sugden also points out Drake's cruel streak, which, perhaps, was balanced with his willingness to work alongside his men and share their food and danger. On land and sea Sugden builds a convincing portrayal of the improbable Renaissance hero. CHS



The controversial "Plate of Brass." When "discovered" in 1936, the plate was believed by many to have been an authentic Drake relic, but an additional round of testing in the 1970s revealed the find to be a sophisticated hoax. Courtesy Bancroft Library.

Land and Law in California: Essays on Land Policies.

By Paul W. Gates, with an introduction by Lawrence B. Lee and a series editor's introduction by Richard S. Kirkendall. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991, xxiv, 361 pp., \$37.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Lawrence J. Jelinek, professor of history at Loyola Marymount University and author of *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture*.

Land and Law in California is a collection of thirteen essays written by the dean of public land historians in the United States. Written between 1958 and 1978, these essays span California history from the adjudication of Spanish and Mexican land claims commencing in the 1850s to the flourishing of corporation farming in the 1960s and 1970s. The first-time collection of these essays has been done as part of the Henry A. Wallace Series on Agricultural History and Rural Studies.

In an insightful introduction, Lawrence B. Lee reminds us that the focus of Gates's scholarship first fell upon the incongruities within federal land legislation. These incongruities were usually the result of small-minded politicians subverting the democratic principles of statesmen such as Thomas Jefferson and land reformers such as Henry George and William A. J. Sparks. Subverting ideals was usually done to enhance federal and state revenues and to serve the appetites of institutional special interests, who saw land grants as their rightful means to wealth. The second focus of Gates's scholarship fell upon the role of land speculators in interposing themselves between the government and settlers. In their wake, speculators generally left land monopoly, debt, tenancy, high taxes, and soil exhaustion, rather than egalitarian land disposal. Gates has never wavered from the interpretation that inconsistent land legislation and land speculation, as opposed to marketplace economics, primarily explain the historic rise of concentrated land ownership in the western states, especially in California. In explaining the sustainability of large-scale land ownership and the rise of agribusiness in the twentieth century, Gates's focus is upon the role of water and open subsidy legislation in making such landholding patterns economically viable.

Within the historiography of the Golden State, Gates is best known for his defense of "California's embattled settlers." This defense put Gates at odds with such historians as Hubert Howe Bancroft, Theodore Hittell, Josiah Royce, Robert Glass Cleland, and John Caughey. Each argued that squatters and settlers used the Land Act of 1851 and the moral, legal, cultural, and personal biases built into the Land Commission that was created by the act to dispossess rancho owners of the property guaranteed them by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Gates argues that the rancho owners, whether they were *californios*, foreigners, or Americans, represented a feudal economic order, that the commission and courts displayed too much regard for their often tangled claims, and that speculators, rather than settlers or rancheros, ended up as the ultimate winners. The legacy of these rulings, he argues, forms a critical part of the foundations of twentieth-century land ownership patterns.

The scholarship of Paul W. Gates is highly respected for its pioneering use of archival records bearing directly and indirectly upon land use and for its unrelenting attention to detail. Nonetheless, Gates's interpretations have been subjected to spirited criticism by some other public land scholars and even revisionism by some of his students and by sympathetic colleagues. Taken together, this means that these thirteen essays, in particular, and the remaining body of his published work, in general, play a critical role in understanding California history. Thus, this collection of essays not only honors a deserving scholar, it serves a valuable purpose as well.

CHS



Charles Maria Weber (1814–1881). Courtesy Haggin Museum.

Weber! The American Adventure of Captain Charles M. Weber.

By James Shebl. (Lodi: San Joaquin County Historical Society, 1993, 192 pp., \$35.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert G. Fricke, instructor at West Valley College and author of numerous book reviews.

Many Californians, including myself, have heard of Captain Charles M. Weber but have little specific knowledge of Weber's career and of his contributions to the history of California and the West. The title—*Weber! The American Adventure of Captain Charles M. Weber*—of this first comprehensive biography is somewhat misleading in that the overwhelming majority of the book covers Weber's life in California.

As a result of his many roles and challenging experiences, Captain Weber personifies an American immigrant's spirit of romanticism and progress. The biography clearly portrays Weber as a significant, but largely overlooked or quite often ignored, early American period California pioneer. In accomplishing this the author tends to mythologize Weber and thereby possibly creates a legendary figure.

On the other hand, the book makes fascinating and interesting reading, although the writing style is simple and straightforward. A substantial portion of the book covers Weber's business activities in San Jose and his many and major contributions to the development of the city of Stockton. The biography effectively incorporates the writings (primarily letters) of

such contemporary notables as John Bidwell, Col. R.B. Mason, Bayard Taylor, José Castro, and Captain John C. Frémont.

Weber's role as founder and promoter of the city of Stockton is well described, especially his numerous civic and philanthropic activities. Despite his many successes, he had a major problem regarding his land claim. The last chapter, entitled "The Weber Legacy," is more of a generalized and genealogical history of the Weber family rather than a study of the true legacy of Charles Weber. Overall the biography does provide insight into the career of an early Californian pioneer.

Class Conflict and Class Coalition in the California Woman Suffrage Movement, 1907–1912: The San Francisco Wage Earners' Suffrage League.

By Susan Englander. (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992, viii, 193 pp., bibliog., index, \$59.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ingrid Winther Scobie, associate professor of history at Texas Woman's University and author of *Center Stage: Helen Gahagan Douglas, A Life*.

Susan Englander argues persuasively that the short-lived San Francisco Wage Earners' Suffrage League (WESL) played an influential role in the 1911 passage of the California suffrage amendment, which made California the sixth state to legalize the vote for women. As no state had passed a suffrage amendment for fourteen years, the action in California generated encouragement and momentum for the national cause. Englander utilizes the WESL to demonstrate the important role of working women in this struggle and to underscore the fact that they did not always have an amicable relationship with middle- and upper-class reformers.

The WESL emerged within the context of labor-controlled city politics, where Irish dominated the heavily immigrant Catholic city. Compared to other urban centers, working women in San Francisco, particularly Irish, married later, worked longer, and had a tradition of lifetime self-support. Furthermore, women played a more active role in unions, in part because of Irish women's work attitudes and the greater acceptance of women into unions compared to the rest of the country (in 1910, aside from domestic service, San Francisco women represented approximately 10 percent of union membership, compared to



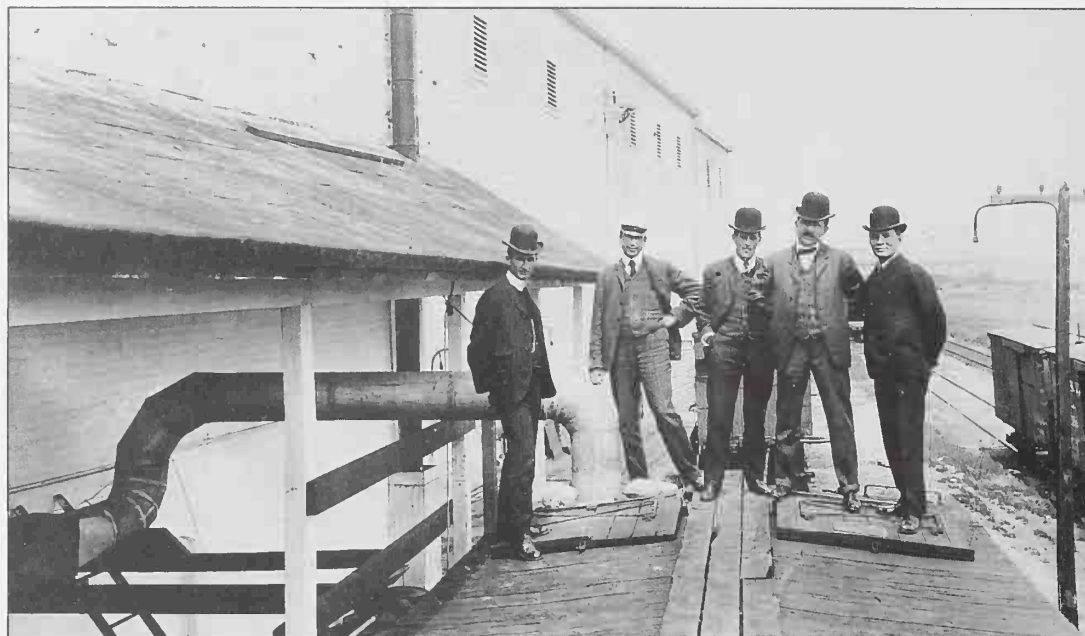
Suffragist Susan B. Anthony during her last visit to California in 1905, seated, center, with her "lieutenants" who campaigned for passage of the California women's suffrage amendment. Identified in this photo are Carrie Chapman Catt, seated on Anthony's right; Anna Howard Shaw, to Anthony's left; and beside Shaw to the lower left is Lucy E. Anthony, Susan B. Anthony's niece. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

percent nationally). Women gained valuable political experience within unions. Unlike in other cities such as New York, however, class conflict, rather than cooperation, characterized suffrage supporters among working women and their relations versus their middle- and upper-class reform contemporaries. In San Francisco working women valued the power of the union over the power of the vote as a means to improve working conditions and resented reformers' efforts to "transform" their lives. The two groups also opposed each other on temperance issues, a major streetcar boycott, and the city's graft prosecution trials. Despite these differences, the WESL worked alongside reformers, particularly in 1911 when the passage of the suffrage amendment seemed within reach. The women's labor movement in general, including WESL, gained particularly valuable support from the expertise and connections of Maud Younger, an upper-class woman who became active in the Waitresses' Union and worked tirelessly for union and suffrage rights. Because of the organization's visibility in the San Francisco Labor Day parade in 1911 and the campaign for the suffrage amendment in working-class neighborhoods, the vote of those neighborhoods increased over their 1909 vote. Englander convincingly argues that WESL deserves much of the credit for the slim majority victory in the state.

This work stands as an excellent example for placing a local

history case study into the larger context. Englander illustrates clearly how the San Francisco political, economic, and ethnic context differed from other cities, which in turn impacted local suffrage politics. She also places her work solidly within the literature of the suffrage movement, progressive reform, working women and union organization, and San Francisco politics during the first two decades of the twentieth century. She does not, however, offer much comparative material on suffrage activity in southern California. This would have been interesting in light of the key role Los Angeles and rural areas played in the passage of the amendment and the important historiography of the differences between northern and southern California politics.

Englander also demonstrates admirably how to surmount problems of missing documents—in this case, the lack of WESL records and substantive material on key women. She writes lucidly as she sets forth the history of women workers and the suffrage movement in San Francisco before moving into a detailed look at the WESL's role in the passage of the suffrage amendment. Sometimes tables raise unanswered questions; frequently Englander resorts to very short paragraphs; and periodically she becomes overly repetitious. These problems, however, are minor compared to this worthwhile contribution to the incomplete suffrage story. CHS



G. Harold Powell, second from right, was a leading figure in the California citrus industry. Powell revolutionized citrus production—and thus the shipment of agricultural products in general—by developing cold storage methods and refrigerated rail cars. Standing on a refrigerated orange car that is being cooled in 1905 are, from left to right, Mr. Pate, an official with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad; J.G. McKinney, of the Los Angeles Ice and Cold Storage Company; B.A. Woodford, with the Azusa-Covina Fruit Exchange; Powell, of the Azusa-Covina Fruit Exchange; and Walter Barnwell, an assistant freight agent for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. *Courtesy Huntington Library. Photograph by L.S. Tenny.*

Letters from the Orange Empire.

By G. Harold Powell; edited by Richard G. Lillard; afterword by Lawrence Clark Powell. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1990, 142 pps., \$30).

Reviewed by Morton Rothstein, editor, Agricultural History, and professor in history, University of California, Davis.

The body of this slim volume consists of transcripts, with notes, of two batches of letters from G. Harold Powell to his wife, Gertrude, one batch from southern California during his visit to the state in 1904 and the second from California and the West in 1909. These are the extant holographs of letters that have been deposited at UCLA since the 1930s by Lawrence Clark Powell, the youngest son of this couple and former head of the library on that campus, who also provides a brief "Afterword" for the volume. Yet the modest size and format should not deceive anyone interested in the history of twentieth-century California, or the development of the state's citrus industry. It makes a major contribution to our understanding of both subjects by revealing in graphic detail some of the problems and solutions that made the decade, as the editor properly indicates, the "Powell Era" in the California citrus industry.

G. Harold Powell grew up on the Hudson River apple farm that his father and grandfather worked, studied horticulture under the famed Liberty Hyde Bailey at Cornell University,

earned a master's degree under Bailey in 1896, worked as a prolific researcher for four years at the Delaware College Agricultural Experiment Station, and then joined the Bureau of Plant Industry in Washington, D.C., specializing in research on cold storage and transport of fruit. It was in this role that he came to the Golden State, and over the next decade helped the state's citrus farmers solve problems of spoilage in long distance shipment of their crops to eastern markets, literally saving them millions of dollars. From 1912 until his premature death in 1922 he served as general manager of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, though he took time out at Herbert Hoover's request to serve in the Food Administration's Perishable Fruit Division during World War I. But the man was more than the sum of these achievements, and the letters are full of details about people and farms in southern California at a critical point in the state's growth, about the progress of agricultural sciences, and about middle-class life in an America emerging from the Victorian era.

CHS

Promises Kept: The Life of an Issei Man.

By Akemi Kikumura. (Novato: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc., 1991, 132 pp., \$17.95.)

Reviewed by Judy M. Tachibana, reporter, Sacramento Bee.

Ten years ago, Akemi Kikumura, exhibit curator at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, described her mother's life in *Through Harsh Winters*, a book written from tape recordings of conversations with an Issei woman who with her husband emigrated from Japan to America in 1923. In *Promises Kept* she details the life of her father, who worked as a farm laborer and contractor, but who gambled away portions of the hard-earned salary needed for the care of his thirteen children.

The two books are a welcome addition to the history of Japanese-Americans. While much research has been done on the mass incarceration during World War II, there exist too few accounts of the difficult times that the Issei pioneers endured in a new country. Like other immigrants, Kikumura's parents hoped to succeed in America and return with wealth to Japan, and they, like other newcomers, suffered the difficulties of functioning in a foreign culture. But the unique personal experiences of Saburo and Michiko Tanaka humanize the lives of the couple.

Saburo Tanaka is seen as an individual—a gambler who won at a Chinese restaurant, but who was later arrested and imprisoned in San Quentin for gambling and selling liquor without a license, a man who was embittered by the incarceration of 10,000 persons of Japanese ancestry during World War II, a provider who took part of his family out of the internment camp at Rohwer, Arkansas, and moved to Florida, where he worked as a gardener at a resort.

Born into a farming family thirty miles outside of Hiroshima, Saburo Tanaka was only a toddler when his father left his family in 1901 to try his fortune in America. Some seventeen years later, his father called for Saburo to join him in California. The boy prospered by doing farm work, but Saburo's father gambled away much of their earnings. Eventually, the elder Tanaka returned to Japan, leaving Saburo in America with only a few dollars.

A marriage was arranged for Saburo and Michiko Sato, the daughter of Hiroshima merchants, and Saburo was called back to Japan by his father. The couple soon decided to try their luck

in America due to tensions between Saburo and his father. They never returned to their homeland.

Kikumura admits that she did not really get to know her father very well during the nine years of her life that he was alive. "My father never talked to me about his dreams, Japan, his parents, and least of all, his failures. . . . for the most part, Papa was an enigma to me, an awesome, forbidding figure around whom I always felt very small," the author writes. "He was a man of many faces capable of bringing out the best and worst from those whose lives he intimately touched, simultaneously evoking laughter and sorrow, pride and contempt, pleasure and pain, respect and dignity" (p. 7).

About fifty-seven years after her parents left Japan, Kikumura visited Japan and her parents' relatives to research her family history. Through them and the memories of her mother and older siblings, the author pieced together the life of her father, who died in a boating accident at the age of fifty-five.

Promises Kept is better written than *Through Harsh Winters*, although it duplicates much information already presented in the earlier book and leaves unanswered many questions about Saburo Tanaka's life, gaps that perhaps could not be filled, but were not addressed or acknowledged.

But the book has other problems. The slim volume needs a tight editing job. In too many chapters there are extraneous tales that do not contribute to the core of the story. The author also sometimes speculates on what her father "must have" been doing, or what he "probably" thought. And details need to be checked. The author says her father died in 1955 (p. 9), but in 1953 in the family genealogy on an unnumbered page facing page one, and in her earlier book (p. 62), Kikumura says her father died in 1953.

But for all the faults of the book, *Promises Kept* is worth reading, for it humanizes the experiences of one Issei man who made America his home and whose influence is felt through the memories of his children. CHS

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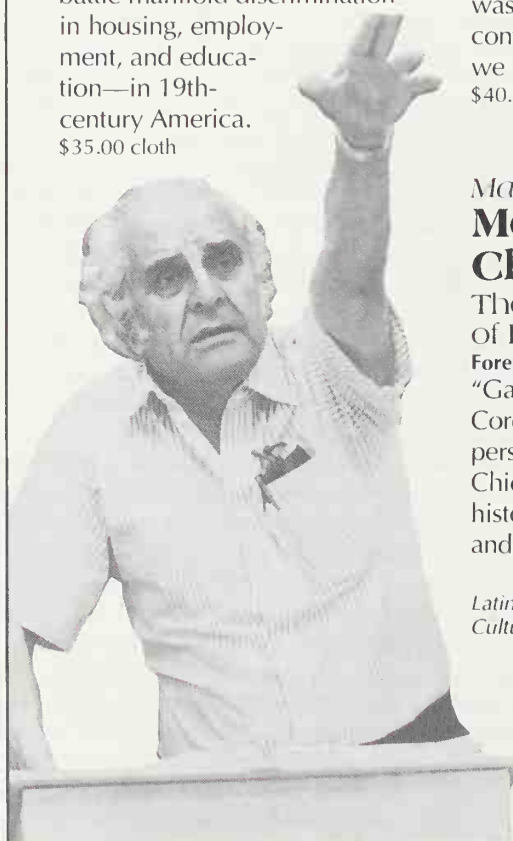
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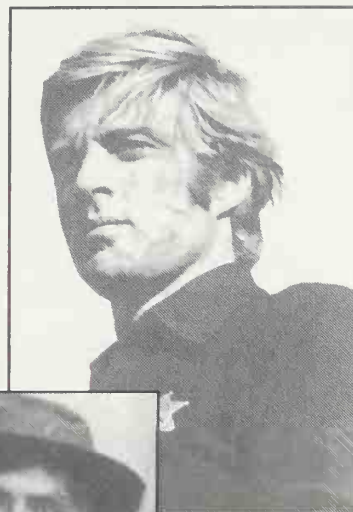
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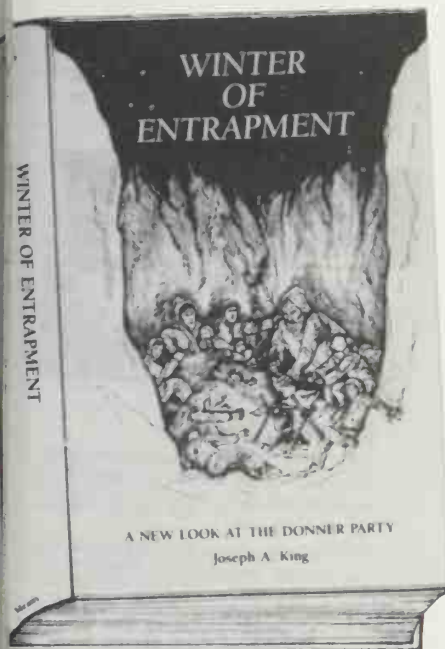
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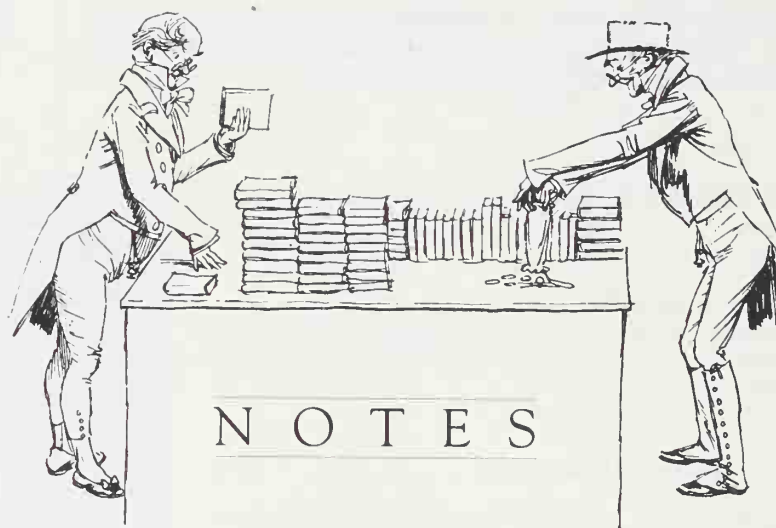
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Van Nuys, "Chester Rowell," pp. 2-13.

1. In 1790, the right of naturalization was restricted to any alien who was a "free white person." African natives and those of African descent became eligible for naturalization in 1870. In 1922 the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Ozawa v. United States*, upheld a lower court ruling that a Japanese immigrant "was not a free white person" and therefore was ineligible for naturalization. See Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 210-26.
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3. Hiram Johnson to Chester Rowell, 22 April 1913, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
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5. *Fresno Republican*, 4 May 1913. For more thorough examinations of the 1913 Alien Land Law controversy see Thomas A. Bailey, "California, Japan, and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 1 (1932): 36-59; Madelon Berkowitz, "The California Progressives and Anti-Japanese Agitation" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1966); Paolo E. Coletta, "The Most Thankless Task: Bryan and the California Alien Land Legislation," *Pacific Historical Review* 36 (May 1967): 163-87; Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*; Jun Furuya, "Gentlemen's Disagreement: The Controversy Between the United States and Japan Over the California Alien Land Law of 1913" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1989); James B. Kessler, "The Political Factors in California's Anti-Alien Land Legislation, 1912-1913" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1958); Herbert Lepore, "Hiram Johnson, Woodrow Wilson, and the California Land Law Controversy of 1913," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1979): 99-110; Spencer C. Olin, "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien: Acceptance and Rejection by the California Legislature of 1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 35 (August 1966): 303-15; and Frank W. Van Nuys, "California Progressives and Alien Land Legislation, 1913-1924" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1993).
6. Hiram Johnson to Chester Rowell, 7 May 1913, Johnson Papers.
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9. Wilson and Hosokawa, *East to America*, 63; U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Abstract of the Census with Supplement for California* (Washington: GDO, 1913), 596.
10. Chester H. Rowell, "The Japanese in California," *World's Work* 26 (June 1913): 195-96.
11. The Gentlemen's Agreement was worked out between the Japanese and American governments after the serious anti-Japanese disturbances that centered on the school segregation controversy in San Francisco during 1906-1907. It prohibited the immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States, while allowing Japan to control the issuance of passports to non-laborers wishing to visit the U. S. "Picture brides" were so-called because the women

- ere married by proxy in Japan to Japanese men residing in the United States with whom they had exchanged photographs.
12. Rowell, "Japanese in California," 197, 199.
13. *id.*, 199.
14. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigrants—A Comparison," *Annals* 34 (September 1909): 223–26.
15. Hester H. Rowell, "Orientalophobia; A Western Editor's Views on the White Frontier," *Collier's*, 6 February 1909, 13, printed in *San Francisco Call*, 14 February 1909.
16. Rowell, "Japanese in California," 198, and California and the Japanese Problem," *New Republic*, 15 September 1920, 64–65.
17. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigrants," 229–30.
18. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History*, new and revised edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918; reprint, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), 110.
19. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, revised edition (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959), 171–92, quote on 183.
20. Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and its Present Crisis*, revised edition (New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1891; reprint, ed. Jurgen Herbst, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 200–202, 213, italics in the original.
21. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 171.
22. Albert J. Beveridge, *The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches* (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1908; reprint, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), 49.
23. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 144–46, 155–57; Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 176–78.
24. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 192.
25. Rowell, "Orientalophobia," and "Chinese and Japanese Immigrants," 230.
26. *Sacramento Union*, 7 January 1913; Rowell, "Japanese in California," 196.
27. Edward A. Ross, "The Causes of Race Superiority," *Annals* 18 (July–December 1901): 70. Ross, like many race thinkers of his day, was not always consistent. At an anti-Oriental rally in San Francisco in 1900, he proclaimed that the "Chinese and Japanese are impossible among us because they cannot assimilate with us." *San Francisco Call*, 8 May 1900.
28. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigrants," 230.
29. Rowell, "Japanese in California," 196.
30. Strong, *Our Country*, 210–11.
31. Chapman, "Chester Harvey Rowell," 403–406; Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and Their Children* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), 215–17; H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1915), 272–75.
32. Rowell, "California and the Japanese Problem," 65.
33. *Ibid.*; Chapman, "Chester Harvey Rowell," 401–403.
34. Chester Rowell to Ernest Harvier, 22 April 1919, Rowell Papers.
35. Ross, "Causes of Race Superiority," 88; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 140–48.
36. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 147.
37. *Fresno Republican*, 20 November 1906.
38. Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 49.
39. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigration," 229.
40. Rowell, "Japanese in California," 199.
41. Rowell, "Chinese and Japanese Immigration," 230.
42. Rowell, "Japanese in California," 195.
43. *Ibid.*, 201.
3. Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Immigrant Response to the 1920 California Alien Land Law," *Agricultural History* 58 (1984): 157–78.
4. For more detail of the Chinese in the Delta, see Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 158–224; George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870–1960," *California Historical Quarterly* 49 (March, 1970): 21–37; and Eiichiro Azuma, "Walnut Grove: Japanese Farm Community in the Sacramento River Delta, 1892–1942" (M.A. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1992), 7–18.
5. Nakaya Shōzō, "Kashū Sakuramoto Heiya ni okeru Honpō Zairyūmin Jijō Shisatsu Hōkoku," *Imin Chōsa Hōkoku* (Tokyo: Gaimushō, 1986), Vol. 8, 167; United States Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries: Part 25: Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 358.
6. Ōfu Nippō-sha, *Sakuramoto Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran* (Sacramento: Ōfu Nippō, 1909), Vol. 2, 65–66.
7. Zaibei Nihonjinkai, *Zaibei Nihonjin-shi* (San Francisco: Zaibei Nihonjinkai, 1940), 161. This source also contains other statistics. In 1904, the Japanese sharecroppers farmed a total of 8,750 acres, while the cash-tenants 9,105 acres. In the following year, the share-leased land was 10,071 acres, and the cash-leased land 10,337 acres.
8. *Nichibei Shimbun*, April 18, 1940. These figures are found in the article entitled "The Japanese in Walnut Grove, 2." This series of articles appeared in the newspaper from April 17 to 25 and contains a brief history of the Walnut Grove Japanese community. The author was probably Yoshihara Shigeru, secretary of the local Japanese Association.
9. Wakabayashi Heitarō and Kōda Kimitsuchi, *Kashū Nihonjin Mondai Shinsō* (San Francisco: Nihonjin Mondai Hakkosho, 1910), 10, appendix; Ōfu Nippō-sha, *Sakuramoto Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran* (Sacramento: Ōfu Nippō, 1911), Vol. 4, no pagination; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1918. This issue contains the special edition entitled "The Japanese in America," from page 17 to 24. Because this issue has detailed information about individual Japanese farmers and presents a favorable view of them, the reporter must have collaborated with the Japanese Association of America and the Japanese Agricultural Association in San Francisco.

10. Sacramento County, "Lease," Book J, 388-89.
11. Ōfu Nippō-sha, *Sakramento Heigen Nihonjin Taisei Ichiran*, Vol. 4, no pagination; Wakabayashi and Kōda, *Kashū Nihonjin Mondai Shinsō*, 10, appendix.
12. Sacramento County, "Miscellaneous Book," Book 7, 187-88.
13. Sacramento County, "Miscellaneous Book," Book 10, 274.
14. "Asparagus Growing for Canneries," *Pacific Rural Press* 66 (July 19, 1902): 37; and "Asparagus in California," *Pacific Rural Press* 69 (May 6, 1905): 276.
15. In Walnut Grove, seven immigrant farmers from Saori comprised 28.0 percent of the total 25 Aichi-born farmers in 1908, and 14 Saori farmers accounted for 34.1 percent of the 1913 total. These figures exclude several farmers whose village origins are unknown. Tally by the author from the following source: Mizutani Bangaku, *Hokubei Aichi Kenjinshū* (Sacramento: Aichi Kenjinkai, 1919), 222-23, 273-343, 347-65.
16. *Nichibei Shimbun*, April 18, 1940. The statistics are found in a series of articles entitled "The Japanese in Walnut Grove."
17. Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kiroku," August 30, 1909, in Japanese American Research Project Collection (hereinafter JARP), Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA.
18. Established in March 1908, the Japanese Producers Association of Walnut Grove (JPA) consisted of more than 100 farmers in Walnut Grove, Grand Island, Tyler Island, and Staten Island. Having a full-time secretary who could speak English well, the JPA acted to protect the agricultural interests of the members and promote good relationships with white landowners. In August 1910, it developed into the Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, merging with the organization of the Japanese merchants in Walnut Grove town.
19. Sacramento County, "Miscellaneous Book," Book 11, 450-96; Book 12, 1-5, 183-86; Book 13, 490-92; and Book 14, 76-78.
20. *Ōfu Nippō*, September 27, 1921. According to this source, only three to four Japanese farmers of the total 80 had legal contracts in 1921. Also consult *Shin Sekai*, May 28, 1923.
21. The sharecropping contracts found in the Sacramento County "Lease" Book are as follow Book I, 16-18, a contract between George W. Locke, and S. Ikai and S. Noguchi dated November 19, 1903; Book I, 95-97, a contract between E.L. Shelley, and K. Kira, Y. Yamashita, K. Nishimura, A. Uyeno, I. Minami, and T. Nagamatsu dated April 28, 1904; Book K, 217-20, a contract between P.J. van Löben sels, and T. Yasuda and T. Wakayama dated October 1, 1908; Book K, 225-29, a contract between P.J. van Löben sels, and T. Kudow and H. Okasaki dated July 8, 1908; Book K, 255-56, a contract between Mrs. L. Wickstrom, and M. Momito dated January 1, 1908; Book K, 271-72, a contract between Onisbo Improvement Co., and U. Tsuzimoto dated November 9, 1904; Book K, 335, a contract between Alex Brown, and M. Miyata dated November 28, 1907; Book K, 386-87, a contract between Joseph F. Miller, and T. Ishikawa and T. Takaoka dated November 1, 1907; Book L, 9, a contract between G.D. Smith, and T. Onishi and K. Nakanishi dated January 1, 1908; and Book O, 181-82, a contract between Clarence T. and Dagmar H. Vollman, and Y. Hirai dated December 2, 1915.
22. Sacramento County, "Lease," Book K, 271-72. U. Tsuzimoto, or Tsujimoto Umekich, was a member of the Japanese Producers Association in Walnut Grove.
23. *Ibid.*, 225-29. The two Japanese, Kudō Chōsaku and Okasaki Hatsuzō, were also members of the Japanese Producers Association in Walnut Grove.
24. Sacramento County, "Lease," Book K, 256-58. In total, there are four cash-lease contracts including the above at the recorder's office. The other three are: Book J, 388-89, a contract between C.W. Clarke, and K. Hotta, et al, dated December 9, 1903; Book M, 199-200, a contract between Mrs. Levi Danforth, Mrs. Grace Danforth Hanley, and Mrs. Adam T. Green, and T. Okimura and S. Masata dated January 3, 1912; and Book O, 14-15, a contract between Julia S. Crew, and T. Okimura dated November 1, 1914.
25. *Nichibei Shimbun*, June 12, 16, 1923. The writer, Washizu Shakuma, made errors in his calculation. The figures in the text thus do not correspond with what Washizu indicated in the newspaper.
26. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1918. This is a part of the special edition, "The Japanese in America" (pp. 17-24).
27. Sacramento County, "Deeds," Book 141, 425-26; Book 143, 141-42; Book 174, 45-46; and Book 307, 451-52.
28. G. Walter Reed, *History of Sacramento County* (Los Angeles: Historical Record Co., 1923), 306-309. Brown's first agricultural venture began not in Walnut Grove, but in Stony Creek Valley, with the acquisition of 6,000 acres used for a livestock farm.
29. *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 3, 1916; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 16, 1918. A see *Shin Sekai*, September 4, 1916. One Brown's tenants, Horiughi Yonesabu leased 1,000 acres, which he must have sublet to other Japanese farmers.
30. *Nichibei Shimbun*, December 22, 1923.
31. R.E. Hodges, "Thousands of Acres Asparagus," *Pacific Rural Press* 96 (October 26, 1918): 452.
32. Reed, *History of Sacramento County*, 309. Some contracts made between Alex Brown and the canneries are found in the Sacramento County "Miscellaneous Book." For example, see Book 10, 267-68; Book 11, 483-84, 493-95; and Book 12, 4-183.
33. Kathleen Graham, *Discovering Walnut Grove* (Walnut Grove: Sacramento River Delta Historical Society, 1985), 5-7, 14.
34. *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 3, 1916.
35. Sacramento County, "Lease," Book K, 386-87. M. Miyata was Miyata Manshichi.
36. *Shin Sekai*, May 10, 1913.
37. My tally from Mizutani, *Hokubei Aichi Kenjinshū*, 304-16, 318-20, and 332-34. The 1912 figure includes six farms in Vorden, ten farms in Walnut Grove, and ten farms in Ryde. In 1913, the Aichi people operated five farms in Vorden, fourteen farms in Walnut Grove, and nine farms in Ryde; and in the following year, six in Vorden, ten in Walnut Grove, and ten in Ryde.
38. Sacramento County, "Miscellaneous Book," Book 9, 479-81; and Kaibara Sakae, *Kashū Hiroshima Kenjin Hattenshi* (Sacramento: Yorozu Shōten, 1916), 92, and 318-19. According to the latter source, Kajiyama had two partners from the same prefecture.
39. Zaibei Nihonjinkai, *Zaibei Nihonjin-shi*, 174-78. These statistics were taken by the Japanese Agricultural Association in September 1918.
40. *Ibid.*; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 14, 1920. This is a part of the special edition, "The Japanese in California" (pp. 37-48).
41. *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 3, 1917. The delegates from northern California Japanese communities discussed the issue in April 1918. They concluded that "the labor shortage in California had been promoted not only by the decrease of Japanese laborers, but also by the recruitment of non-Japanese workers for military service. . . . We shall press the Department of Labor to admit more foreign workers (Japanese?). . . ." As to this conference, see the Japanese Agricultural Association, *Kashū Chūō Nōkai Geppō* Vol. 3 (May 1, 1918): 4-5.
42. *Shin Sekai*, October 2, 1917. According to a trustee of the Japanese Agricultural Association in San Francisco, before the raise in

- ages, none of the Walnut Grove farmers could find workers for the 1917 season. Consult *Nichibei Shimbun*, January 1, 1917.
43. *Shin Sekai*, October 2, 1917; and Japanese Agricultural Association, *Kashū Chūdō ōkai Geppō* Vol. 2 (November 1, 1917): 6.
44. Japanese Agricultural Association, *Kashū Chūdō Nōkai Geppō* Vol. 2 (December 1, 1917): 5-6; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, November 18, 1917.
45. *Shin Sekai*, February 3, 9, 1919.
46. *Nichibei Shimbun*-sha, *Zaibei Nihonjin umei Jiten* (San Francisco: Nichibei Shimbun, 1922), 98; Mizutani, *Hokubei Aichi Kenjinsai*, 10, appendix; and *Shin Sekai*, June 16, 27, 1936.
47. *Nichibei Shimbun*, March 14, 1920.
48. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1923.
49. *Nichibei Shimbun*, March 14, 1920.
50. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 228.
51. Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kiroku," September 11, 26, October 2, 1921, in JARP; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, September 30, October 4, 1921.
52. *Ōfu Nippō*, September 27, October 20, 1921.
53. *Ōfu Nippō*, September 24, 28, 1921; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 4, 1921.
54. *Shin Sekai*, September 29, October 4, 1921; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, September 29, 1921.
55. In January 1922, the American Chinese Cooperative Farmers also filed a complaint at the Sacramento County Superior Court against 47 white landowners who used Japanese farmers on their land. Grand Jury investigated the matter in Courtland, Isleton, and Walnut Grove, but the complaint never became a court case. For more detail, consult *Ōfu Nippō*, January 27, 1922; *Shin Sekai*, January 22, March 12, 1922; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, January 9, 1922.
56. *Shin Sekai*, October 4, 1921.
57. *Ōfu Nippō*, September 28, 1921. The newspaper also published an English supplement compiled by a white attorney, Harvard E. White of Sacramento. For the Japanese translation, see *ibid.*, October 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 1921.
58. Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kiroku," September 29, 1921, in JARP.
59. *Ōfu Nippō*, October 6, 1921.
60. *Ibid.* Some prominent landowners personally offered assistance to the Japanese Association. Also see *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 11, 1921; and *Shin Sekai*, October 12, 1921.
61. Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kiroku," October 12, 13, 14, 1921, in JARP.
62. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1921.
63. My computation from Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kaikēibo," 1921. Each Japanese farmer was reported to have contributed an average of \$15 for the drive. See *Ōfu Nippō*, October 24, 1921.
64. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1921.
65. *Ōfu Nippō*, January 30, 1924; and *Nichibei Shimbun*, January 26, 29, 1924.
66. "Honpōjin Nōkōsha no Jōkyō ni Kansuru Chōsa Hōkokusho, Part II," December 1926. No pagination. This is an unpublished report of Japanese agriculture after 1923 compiled by the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. A consulate official who toured each Japanese community explains the impact of the legal oppression and various methods to which the farmers resorted to continue agriculture. There is an independent section for the Walnut Grove community.
67. *Nichibei Shimbun*, August 24, 1924.
68. *Ōfu Nippō*, August 21, September 5, 1924; and interview with Sadayoshi Yagi, Sacramento, California, May 3, 1991. One of the 3 farmers accompanying Hotta, Sugimoto Chūichi, later raised asparagus in his home village of Saori with another Walnut Grove returnee. They even built a cannery in 1934, which still exists in the town. Many elderly people in Saori still recall that they helped harvest the unfamiliar crop when they were children.
69. Interview with Sadayoshi Yagi, Sacramento, California, May 3, 1991. In fact, some available statistics indicate a large decrease in the population of Aichi-born Japanese farmers in Walnut Grove. In 1909, the Aichi-born farmers comprised 28.8 percent of the total 104 Japanese in the Delta community, and those of Hiroshima and Kumamoto prefectures had the shares of 21.2 percent each. By 1930, the percentage of Aichi-born immigrants dropped to some 10 percent, while the Hiroshima and Kumamoto counterparts recorded a little increase to 23.7 and 22.7 percent respectively. For more detail, consult *Nichibei Shimbun*-sha, *Nichibei Nenkan* (San Francisco: Nichibei Shimbun, 1910), Vol. 6, 112-13, and Strong, *Japanese in California*, 53.
70. Japanese Association of Walnut Grove, "Kawashimo Nihonjinkai Kiroku," January 11, 1925, in JARP. At the general meeting, the association secretary reported that white landowners had donated \$250 to them in 1923, 1924, and 1925.
71. *Ōfu Nippō*, November 23, 1923. Right after the United States Supreme Court decision on the cropping-contract case, Hotta Kamajirō and another prominent farmer urged fellow immigrants not to despair but to devote themselves to building firm financial foundations to enable their American-born children to lease or purchase land in the years to come.
72. "Honpōjin Nōkōsha no Jōkyō ni Kansuru Chōsa Hōkokusho, Part II," December 1926, no pagination.
73. *Ibid.* In 1926, there was no land company for the Japanese to lease land in Walnut Grove.
74. Interview with Sadayoshi Yagi, Sacramento, California, May 3, 1991, (Japanese).
75. *Zaibei Nihonjinkai, Zaibei Nihonjin-shi*, 799.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Kesa Noda, *The Yamato Colony: 1906-1960* (Livingston-Merced JACL Chapter, 1981), 69-70, 89-91; and Valerie J. Matsumoto, "The Cortez Colony: Family, Farm, and Community Among Japanese Americans, 1919-1982" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1986).
78. Timothy J. Lukes and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley* (Cupertino, California: California History Center, 1985), 57-62. Kazuko Nakane also briefly mentioned adverse effects on Japanese tenant farmers in Watsonville. See Kazuko Nakane, *Nothing Left in My Hands: An Early Japanese American Community in California's Pajaro Valley* (Seattle: Young Pine Press, 1985). Other historical studies of the Japanese farming communities include John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*; and David Mas Masumoto, *Country Voices: The Oral History of a Japanese American Family Farm Community* (Del Rey, California: Inaka Countryside Publications, 1987).

Ichioka, "Kengakudan," pp. 30-43.

1. *Nichibei Shimbun* (San Francisco), Jan. 1, 1925, Editorial.
2. For biographical information, see Seizo Oka, "Abiko Kyūtarō Den," *Hokubei Mainichi*, May 8-10, 13-16, Jun. 13-14, 17-19, 26-28, Jul. 2-3, 8-9, Aug. 23, 26-39, 1980; Yuji Ichioka, "Abiko Kyūtarō (1865-1936: An Advocate of Permanent Settlement," *Nichi Bei Times*, Jan. 1, 15, 1985; and Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press 1988), 20-21, 59-61, 146-50, 174-75, 183-84, 214-15, 217-18, 249, 252.
3. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Jan. 1, 1924, Editorial.
4. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1925.
5. Abiko Kyūtarō, "Hokubei ni Okeru Nihon Imin Mondai," *Tōkyō Keizai Zasshi*, 58: 1469

- (Dec. 19, 1909), 1113–15, and 58: 1470 (Dec. 26, 1908), 1159–61; and Abiko Kyūtarō, "Hainichi Mondai no Shinsō Oyobi Sono Shōrai," *Taiyō* 15:5 (May 1909): 66–67.
6. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Apr. 3, 1925, English Editorial.
7. *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1925, Editorial.
8. *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1926.
9. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1925, Editorial.
10. *Taihoku Nippō*, Jan. 1, 1925.
11. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Sep. 6, 13, 1924.
12. *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 10, 1924.
13. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1925.
14. *Ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1925.
15. *Oakland Tribune*, Dec. 5–10, 1921.
16. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Feb. 1, 1922. See also *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Call*, *San Francisco Post*, and *Oakland Tribune*, Jan. 31, 1922.
17. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Mar. 16, 1925, Editorial.
18. Yonako Abiko, "Biographical Statement," Jun. 29, 1943, in Abiko Family Papers, Box 12, Folder 6, Japanese American Research Project Collection (hereinafter JARP), UCLA.
19. Ruth Nomura Tanbara, Interview, Nov. 18, 1990.
20. *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 3, 1925.
21. Yonako Abiko, handwritten text of 1926 speech delivered before the Century Club, Abiko Family Papers, Box 31, Folder 4, JARP.
22. Abiko Kyūtarō to Shibusawa Eiichi, Letter, Feb. 27, 1925, in Shibusawa Seien Kinen Zaidan Ryūmonsha, *Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryō* (Tokyo: Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryō Kankōkai, 1961), v. 39, 306.
23. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Apr. 29, 1925.
24. *Sōkō Nichibei Shimbun Shusai Nikkei Beikoku Shimin Nihon Kengakudan Nittei* (Kengakudan itinerary pamphlet, 1925).
25. *Ibid.*, Jun. 26, 1925, Editorial.
26. *Ibid.*, Jun. 28, 1925.
27. Clarence Arima to *Japanese American News*, Letter, Aug. 17, 1925.
28. *Nichibei Shimbun*, Sep. 19, 1925, Editorial.
29. *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1925.
30. *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1925.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1925.
33. *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1925.
34. *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1926.
35. *Ibid.*, and *Nichibei Shimbunsha*, *Dai-Nikai Bokoku Kengakudan* (San Francisco, 1926).
36. *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1926.
37. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1926.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ōfu Nippō*, Jan. 1, 1927.
40. Ruth Nomura Tanbara, Interview, Nov. 18, 1990.
41. Frank Aiji Endo to author, Letter, Aug. 31, 1990.
42. Yukiko Furuta, Interview, Jan. 16, 1990.

43. Hisako Fujii Ishii, Interview, Feb. 3, 1990.
44. Miya Sannomiya, Interview, Jun. 1, 1980. See also Miya S. Kikuchi to Robert A. Wilson, Letter, Jan. 13, 1968, in Kikuchi Papers, and Miya Sannomiya, Interview, Tape no. 83 and 84, JARP.

Matsumoto, "Redefining Expectations," pp. 44–53.

1. *Hokubei Asahi*, October 15, 1934. I thank Noriko Sawada Bridges, Peggy Pascoe, Vicki Ruiz, and Stan Yogi for their insightful assistance in the preparation of this article.
2. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1934.
3. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1934.
4. For more information about Mary Oyama Mittler, see my article "Desperately Seeking 'Deirdre': Gender Roles, Multicultural Relations, and Nisei Women Writers of the 1930s," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12 (1991): 19–32.
5. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 58.
6. *Hokubei Asahi*, June 15, 1934.
7. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1935.
8. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1935.
9. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1935.
10. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1935.
11. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1935.
12. *New World-Sun*, March 23, 1937.
13. *Hokubei Asahi*, March 28, 1935.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Glenn, 58 and 221.
16. *New World-Sun*, February 10, 1937.
17. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1936.
18. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1936.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Mary Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983), 251.
21. *New World-Sun*, February 10, 1937.
22. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1937.
23. Glenn, 214. Both the Japanese American community and the dominant society assumed that the Japanese American woman's "Mr. Right" would be another Nisei. Interracial marriages were illegal in California until 1948. For information on this anti-miscegenation law, see Megumi Dick Osumi, "Asians and California's Anti-Miscegenation Laws," in *Asian and Pacific American Experiences: Women's Perspectives*, ed. Nobuya Tsuchida (Minneapolis: Asian/Pacific American Learning Resource Center and General College, University of Minnesota, 1982), 1–37.
24. *New World-Sun*, October 10, 1935.

25. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1936.
26. Glenn, 55 and 217. As Glenn points out, arranged marriages were the norm in rural areas until World War II; many urban Nisei also had arranged marriages, though the ideal of romantic love had become popular among them by the mid-1930s.
27. *New World-Sun*, March 14, 1937.
28. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1937.
29. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1937.
30. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1937.
31. *Hokubei Asahi*, October 24, 1934.
32. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1934.

Helfman, "Sun Rising in an Eastern Sky," pp. 54–71.

1. The phrase "Sun Rising in an Eastern Sky" is from the diary of James Koshikawa Decoto District of Washington Township 1906, Labor Archives & Research Center collection, San Francisco State University San Francisco, CA.
2. In framing my study, I particularly drew from the work of Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), and Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).
3. Chiyemi Sakuda, interview by author, July 18, 1989, in *In The Cookhouse and Fields: The Workers of Patterson Ranch* (Oakland, CA: East Bay Regional Park District, 1990).
4. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 47, 55; Roger Daniels, *Coming To America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 255; Roger Daniels, "American Historians and East Asian Immigrants," *Pacific Historical Review* XLIII (November 1974): 451; Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 346.
5. Daniels, *Asian America*, 136, 156; U.S. Department of State, *Report of the Honorable Roland S. Morris on Japanese Immigration and Alleged Discriminatory Legislation Against Japanese Residents in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 280.
6. For other farming community information, see Daniels, *Asian America*, 136; for Alameda County population figures, see U.S. Department of State, *Morris Report*, 820. Washington Township 1920 population figures cited here and subsequently are based on a review of the tallies from

- the original schedules of the 1920 U.S. census. The census figures match an assessment of the Japanese population made by George Kato, a local Japanese American and author of an unpublished township history paper written in the 1970s.
7. W. Wood, *History of Alameda County, California* (Oakland: M.W. Wood Publisher, 1883), 171-75.
8. wartime Civil Control Administration Statistical Section, Assistant Chief of Staff for Civil Affairs, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, "Japanese Population and Number of Japanese Family Heads in California by Minor Civil Divisions, 1940," in Records of Adon Poli, RG 83, Box 38A, Series 285 (National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, CA); *Township Register*, 29 May 1942.
9. Daniels, *Asian America*, 136, 156.
10. The existence of Japanese stores and buildings in this Chinese section of the township's Alvarado district is known primarily through George Kato, Unpublished Manuscript on Japanese American History Washington Township (Private collection, Dr. Robert D. Fisher, c. 1970), 6, 9. For an account of the "Little Tijuana" fire, see *Township Register*, 7 July 1927.
11. The township's salt industry is discussed further in this study's economy section. For information on the San Jose Nihonmachi, see Timothy J. Lukes and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley* (Cupertino, CA: California History Center, 1985), 62-68.
12. Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 11-12.
13. Lukes and Okihiro, *Japanese Legacy*, 52.
14. These ideas are discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections of the study.
15. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 38; Daniels, *Asian America*, 158; Masakazu Iwata, "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, January 1962, 5, 27, 30; Robert M. Jiobu, "Ethnic Hegemony and the Japanese of California," *American Sociological Review* 39 (June 1988): 359.
16. Daniels, *Asian America*, 158; John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 126-27.
17. Daniels, *Asian America*, 163; Adon Poli, "Japanese Farm Holdings on the Pacific Coast," in Records of Adon Poli, RG 83, Box 38, Series 285 (National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, CA), 18.
18. For information on early township industry, see Bruce MacGregor, *The Centennial History of Newark* (Newark, CA: Newark Days Bi-Centennial Committee, 1976), 33-34; Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 5. For information about the Union Pacific Salt Company, see Wood, *History of Alameda*, 824-26.
19. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of Population*; Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 10.
20. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 69-70, 78; Daniels, *Coming to America*, 256; Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 10; Rice, Bullough, and Orsi, *Elusive Eden*, 427.
21. Sakuda interview.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of Population*; Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 5.
25. Harold Fudenna, interview by author, June 20, 1989, in *In The Cookhouse and Fields*.
26. Sakuda interview.
27. Lukes and Okihiro, *Japanese Legacy*, 65.
28. Fudenna interview.
29. Akemi Kikumura, "Mukashi Banashi: Stories of the Past from Issei Women in Fowler, California," *Southwest Oral History Association Newsletter* 23 (Fall 1992): 12; Sakuda interview.
30. Sakuda interview.
31. Ibid.
32. Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 11-12.
33. Daniels, *Asian America*, 167.
34. Sakuda interview.
35. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 71.
36. Kimiyo Asakawa, interview by author, July 27, 1989, in *In The Cookhouse and Fields*.
37. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 103, 109, 118; Modell, *Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 156; Fudenna interview; Sakuda interview.
38. Chan, *Asian Americans*, 113, 115, 118; Rice, Bullough, and Orsi, *Elusive Eden*, 427; Modell, *Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation*, 154.
39. Daniels, *Asian America*, 174; *Township Register*, 15 March 1928, 17 May 1928, 27 December 1928, 30 May 1929, 4 July 1929, 4 June 1931. The percentage of Japanese in the 1928 high school student body is an estimate drawn from published information about graduating classes in 1929 and 1931. Vernon Ichisaka's role in the Japanese American Citizen's League is discussed later in the study.
40. Lawrence and Vermilda Sylva, interview by author, June 25, 1989, in *In the Cookhouse and Fields*.
41. Fudenna interview.
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45. *Township Register*, 9 March 1922.
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55. Vernon Ichisaka, Letter to the People of Washington Township, 1942, Dr. Robert D. Fisher Collection.
56. *Township Register*, 8 May 1942.
57. Ibid., 2 January 1942. Research to date has found no indication that this map was ever actually completed or used.
58. *Township Register*, 20 March 1942.
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60. *Township Register*, 6 March 1942.
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62. Kato, Unpublished Manuscript, 12.
63. Fudenna interview.

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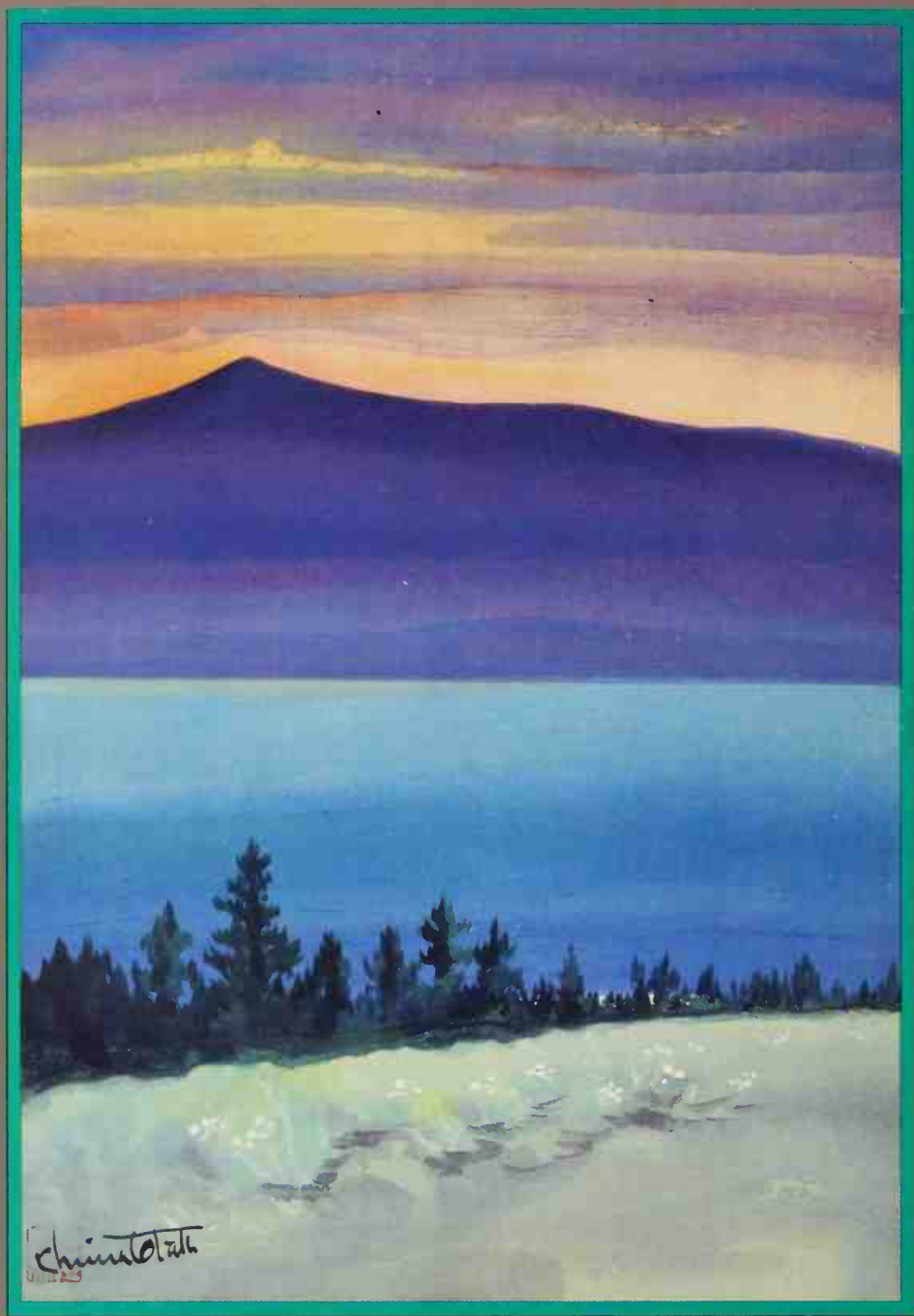


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William S. Jewett, Gold-Rush Artist

On a crisp, clear December day in 1849, the artist William S. Jewett stood on the deck of the bark Hope as it slid through the Golden Gate, eagerly awaiting his first glimpse of San Francisco. Seven months earlier Jewett had closed up his studio in the gloomy old New York University building on Washington Square and cast his lot with a joint-stock mining company headed for California. He was thirty-six and single, a successful painter of portraits and landscapes, a member of the National Academy of Design. And he had a bad case of gold fever.

Stepping ashore at Yerba Buena cove, Jewett found a scattering town "composed of the greatest conglomeration of trapsticks for the protection of humanity from the elements that the world ever knew." Rain and mud conspired to hold the artist and his companions in San Francisco, and when their company fragmented and then fell apart, Jewett took up his brushes. "I am painting and I am as jolly among them as a clam at high water," he wrote of his great popularity as a portraitist. "I charge from hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars—shall paint two or three per week if they come fast enough."

A shrewd businessman as well as an able artist, Jewett early attempted to obtain official patronage, soliciting, with the assistance of influential friends, a commission to paint the governor and lieutenant governor. He failed in this endeavor and was no more successful when he later sought funding for a portrait series "of old and distinguished California pioneers," to be exhibited at the state capital. Withdrawing his proposal after completing several of the pictures without compensation, Jewett wrote to Thomas Larkin that it had been his intention to serve as a historian of California's "worthier citizens," making "their portraits a nucleus for future artists to build around until, like my native state New York, she could to future generations exhibit a gallery as old as her own existence as one of the republic."

Four years later, in 1855, Jewett realized some of his ambition when Governor Bigler signed a bill appropriating \$2,500 for the purchase of a portrait of John A. Sutter. By this date, the "patriarch of California," as Bishop Kip called him, had seen his former empire sadly reduced by swindlers and squatters. Though honored as a great pioneer, he now wielded neither power nor influence, and his chief delight, the pomp and ceremony of military display, derived from his rank of major general in the state militia.

In painting Sutter, Jewett preserved not the truth of the moment but the emblematic image Californians wanted to remember. The full-length portrait shows the former master of New Helvetia in his elegant blue-and-gold militia uniform, his face filled with courage and conviction. In the distance, the sun breaks through a darkening sky, the warm light playing across



William S. Jewett, *Self-portrait*.
Courtesy National Academy of Design.

the adobe walls of Sutter's Fort—which, though impressive to behold, was by this date, like the general's fortunes, in ruins.

Though thwarted for the most part in obtaining state governmental patronage, Jewett nonetheless achieved splendid success in California through both the practice of his art and investment in real estate. A sojourner turned settler, he remained in San Francisco until 1869, when, eager to see once again the faces of family and old friends, he boarded the eastbound train and was gone. One of the many artist-argonauts who contributed to the rise of the fine arts on a remote frontier, he left a rich legacy of pictorial images that speak to the growth and development of a Pacific Coast empire.

ANTHONY KIRK
Historical Consultant
Santa Cruz

FRONT COVER, William Smith Jewett (1812–1873), *General John A. Sutter*, ca. 1855, oil on canvas, 9 ft. 10 in. x 7 ft. 3 in. This portrait hung in the California State Capitol for many years. It is presently on loan to the Sacramento Museum of History, Science, and Technology, 101 I Street, Sacramento, and can be viewed by the public, Tuesdays through Sundays, 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. Courtesy California State Department of Parks and Recreation. BACK COVER, Maurice Braun (1877–1941), *Landscape, San Diego Backcountry*, ca. 1915, oil on canvas, 12 in. x 18 in. Hungarian-born Braun studied art in New York at the National Academy. His interest in theosophy led him to settle in San Diego in 1909. In 1910 the artist founded the San Diego Academy of Art, and in 1929 he helped found Contemporary Artists of San Diego. Widely recognized as the city's first nationally prominent artist, in 1940 Braun assumed the title Dean of San Diego Arts, an accolade bestowed earlier on Ammi Merchant Farnham and Charles A. Fries. Braun, Farnham, and Fries are among the artists represented in the comprehensive, regional collection of the San Diego Historical Society and are catalogued in Bruce Kemerling's *100 Years of Art in San Diego*, published by the society in 1991. Courtesy San Diego Historical Society, gift of Mary Louise Lloyd.

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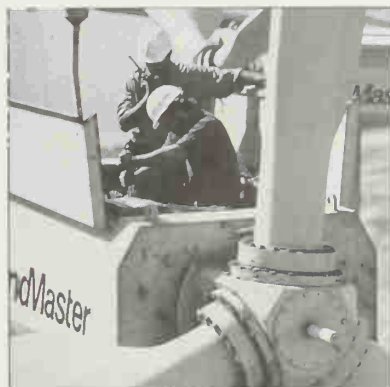
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John Augustus Sutter, Wilderness Entrepreneur

by Howard R. Lamar
with an Introduction by
Kenneth N. Owens

INTRODUCTION

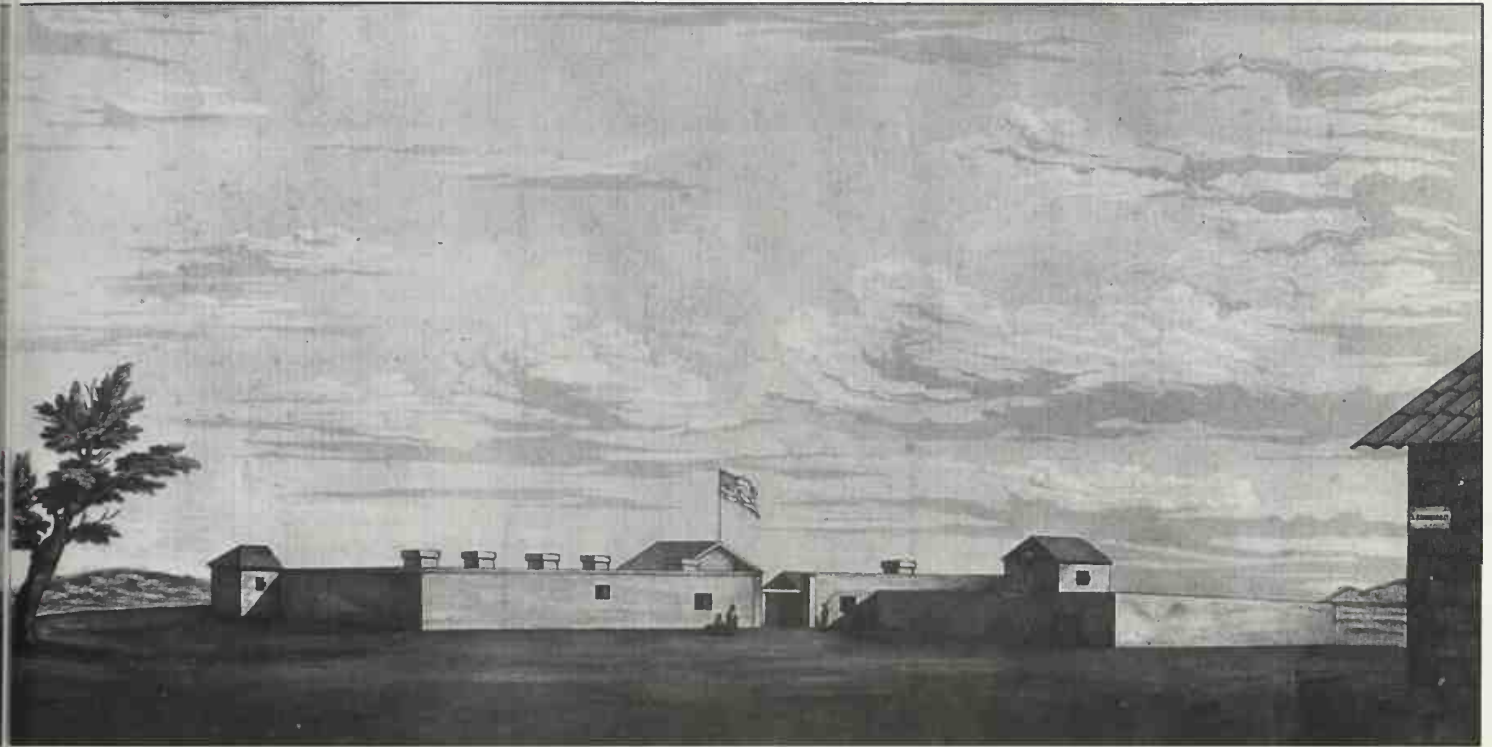
During successive weeks in the fall of 1990, five distinguished western historians traveled to Sacramento to deliver the Sutter Lectures. This unique venture in town-and-gown cooperation, sponsored by California State University, Sacramento, the Sacramento History and Science Division, and other historical and business groups in the Sacramento community, proved exceptionally successful. As many as six hundred history buffs and interested students turned out on mid-week evenings to hear these scholars each in turn discuss the career of John Sutter and reappraise Sutter's role in the history of California and the American West.

Howard R. Lamar, Sterling Professor of History at Yale University—and subsequently the president of that tradition-steeped institution—opened the series with a consideration of John Sutter's achievements as a frontier entrepreneur. The following article is an excerpt from Professor Lamar's presentation, slightly revised for publication. The complete text is now available in a volume based on the Sutter Lectures, *John Sutter and a Wider West*, just published by the University of Nebraska Press under the editorship of Kenneth N. Owens, who organized and coordinated the lecture series. This selection appears here with the permission of the University of Nebraska Press.

The other scholars represented in the new book are all well known as historians of California and the West. Albert L. Hurtado considers Sutter's management of the Indian business; Iris H. W. Engstrand examines his personal relationships, especially those involving women and children; Richard White provides an interpretation of Sutter's manipulation of the Central Valley environment. In the concluding essay, Patricia Nelson Limerick views Sutter as an early prototype for failure in the West.

Alongside the contributions of these modern authors, *John Sutter and a Wider West* opens with John Sutter's first autobiographical statement, a lengthy narrative of his career in California that demonstrates his own inventiveness in creating the historical myth of John Sutter. Prepared in 1857 for his lawyer, this statement has heretofore been available only in a rare limited edition.

John Sutter's colorful personality and the Sutter myth he originated, variously endorsed and embellished by later popular writers, have helped obscure the larger historical meanings of his years in California. As Professor Lamar points out in the following pages, this visionary promoter, at once grasping, generous, and financially incompetent, first linked California's northern interior country to a rapidly developing commercial world, making it a significant part of a wider American West in far more ways than John Sutter could ever have known.



Sutter's Fort, established in 1839, shown in this stylized 1847 illustration.
Courtesy California State Library.

Beginning with his arrival in Mexican California during the summer of 1839, the Swiss émigré John Sutter attempted for nearly nine years to create a successful commercial enterprise at his fort on the lower American River. Then, soon after United States forces had conquered the region and claimed sovereignty over California, the discovery of gold at his Coloma sawmill—located far upstream on the American River's south fork—began a rush to this country that brought Sutter lasting fame and, according to his later claims, accomplished his financial ruin.

The story of Sutter and his role in California's early

development has held an enduring interest for local historians and for writers who have been attracted by the singular character of this man. But we should also seek to understand the career of John Sutter in terms of its wider meanings. With this purpose, the present essay undertakes to place Sutter within the larger context of American frontier and western history. In particular, it compares the history of Sutter and his fort with the activities of other leading entrepreneurs on the frontiers of North America, adopting a perspective that helps to fix John Sutter's place firmly among a notable group of outstanding frontier figures.

Let us begin with a brief summary of the more traditional interpretations of John A. Sutter and his role in California history. As one reads the always fascinating narrative of Sutter's coming to California, his founding an "empire" near the confluence of the

Reprinted from *John Sutter and a Wider West*, edited by Kenneth N. Owens, by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. Copyright 1994 by the University of Nebraska Press. The book is available from bookstores or directly from the press, 1-800-755-1105.



John A. Sutter, from an ambrotype after a drawing by Charles Nahl. The image appeared on the cover of James Hutchings's *California Magazine* in 1857. Courtesy editorial staff.

American and Sacramento rivers shortly thereafter, and the way the California gold rush ruined him financially, several very different and even contradictory explanations of him and his career emerge. One version argues that Sutter was an able and charming adventurer who had seen much of the world, but who despite his experience remained a naive visionary always dreaming of glory and empire. This interpretation can be found in Richard Dillon's excellent biography of Sutter, *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California*.¹

A recent view suggests that only by ruthless

methods and strong-arm tactics toward his labor force of California Indians did he create his "empire" of New Helvetia. Albert L. Hurtado's case study of Sutter's exploitation of California Indians, presented in his *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, leaves one persuaded that Sutter, whatever his other talents, was indeed a cruel and ruthless man.² On the other hand, James Peter Zollinger's well-known older biography, *Sutter: The Man and His Empire*, details all his foibles but praises him for accomplishing so much in less than eight years—a truly remarkable triumph of one man over the wilderness and its Indian inhabitants.³

A fourth image is that of Sutter as truly a tragic figure whose signal accomplishments were wiped out by forces beyond his control. John Bidwell, Sutter's friend and lifelong admirer, subscribed to this view.⁴ Generally speaking, however, biographers have been skeptical about praising Sutter. Hubert Howe Bancroft, California's pioneer historian, had few good words to say about him, and Marguerite Eyer Wilbur pointedly entitled her biography *John Sutter: Rascal and Adventurer*.⁵

In this essay I will advance yet another interpretive approach by viewing Sutter not as a lone individual, struggling against the accidents of fate; but as one of many wilderness entrepreneurs—or empire builders—who helped shape the American West and bring its resources and promise to the attention of the world. Comparison shows, for example, that Sutter and Sutter's Fort bear a remarkable resemblance to the role and fate of William Bent and Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas River during the 1830s and 1840s. The fortunes of New Helvetia also parallel those of John McLoughlin and Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Company outpost on the Columbia River. Likewise, the saga of Alexander Baranov's turbulent reign at New Archangel (Sitka), the capital of Russian America, brings to mind arresting similarities to the events that occurred at Sutter's Fort. Even the career of an earlier frontier entrepreneur, Sir William Johnson in colonial New York, deserves comparison with Sutter's life in California. As I hope to demonstrate, in the broader context of common patterns of frontier development, Sutter's career seems not only less unique and less tragic, but actually representative of an evolutionary political and economic process that took place all over the American West.

On the Fourth of July, 1839, California's Governor Juan Bautista de Alvarado attended in Monterey, the capital of this Mexican province, a party given by United States Consul Thomas O. Larkin. During the event he was intrigued by a pudgy, square-set, purposeful but charming and somewhat mysterious stranger named John A. Sutter.⁶ Sutter impressed the governor and other guests as a Swiss gentleman seeking to settle in California.

As is well known, Sutter had sailed into Monterey on the brig *Clementine* the day before, armed with so many letters of introduction from high-ranking persons in the Pacific area that Governor Alvarado was overwhelmed. One letter came from James Douglas, then in command of Fort Vancouver for the Hudson's Bay Company. Another came from Captain Ivan Kuprianov, the elderly governor of the Russian-American Company at New Archangel, Alaska. A third came from John C. Jones, U.S. consul at Honolulu. Jones's letter described Sutter as a captain, a Swiss gentleman, and a person of the first class among men, "who goes to California with the intention of settling there if the country meets with his expectations."⁷ Jones and Sutter had cleverly put the ball in Alvarado's court, so that the question was not, would Sutter qualify for California, but would California satisfy Sutter? Far more than just perfunctory letters of introduction, those Sutter presented were characterized by warmth and great praise of his character and ability.

As a natural-born entrepreneur, formerly a dry goods merchant in Switzerland and then a Santa Fé trader, Sutter was selling what was, at the time, his only asset: himself. Accompanied by some ten or so Hawaiians, two Germans, and a large bulldog acquired in Honolulu, he proposed to establish an outpost and settlement in the interior, presumably to trade with the Indians while controlling them. By so doing he would secure the frontier for California's Mexican government against the inroads of Anglo-Americans from the aggressive young Republic that already had established its claim to all the territory westward to the Rocky Mountains. Moreover, he promised to develop a trade in furs that would force out the Hudson's Bay Company's fur brigades from the Oregon Country, which were exploiting the interior valley at least as far southward as the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta area and the lower San Joaquin drainage.⁸



William Bent, in a *carte de visite* photograph. Courtesy Museum of New Mexico, 7029.

Like a brilliant salesman who seemed to know exactly his customers' needs, Sutter had touched on the concerns of Mexican California's officials: that is, they too were worried that the Hudson's Bay Company was taking furs from the Central Valley. They were also nervous that a second group of fur traders, the Russians at Bodega Bay and Fort Ross, might establish a strong foothold in California. In addition, Governor Alvarado was anxious to curb the ambitions and power of his young uncle and political rival, Mariano Vallejo of Sonoma, who was commander general of the northern district.⁹ A new presence in the north and in the interior would be a counterpoise both to the Russians at Fort Ross and Vallejo at Sonoma. As noted by biographer James Peter Zollinger, some of Sutter's letters of recommendation were actually addressed to General Vallejo.¹⁰ By ingratiating himself with both Alvarado and Vallejo, diplomat Sutter did not intend for anybody to be angry with him.

Sutter is said to have presented himself to

Alvarado as a promoter of colonization, for Mexican California was then granting large tracts of land to colonizers or *empresarios*; but it was with the promise that they would bring in settlers. Then, after ten years, the property of the *empresarios* might be divided among the settlers. This news, Alvarado later revealed, "made Sutter rather pensive."¹¹

Far from being naive about Mexican land grants, Sutter had been aware of what was going on in the way of colonizing grants and land speculation in the Mexican borderlands ever since he had arrived in America in the mid-1830s. Almost from the time of his arrival, Sutter had been living in Missouri. There he came to know recent German immigrants, among whom there were great debates about where to settle in the Mississippi Valley. One set of vigorous

propagandists argued that the Mexican province of Texas, in which Missourian Stephen F. Austin had founded a successful colony as an *empresario de colonización*, was the best place.¹² Eventually so many German colonists came to Texas that they constituted one-seventh of the early population. Even if the precedent did not impress itself on Sutter, it was hard to ignore the fact that in 1835–36 the Anglo-Americans in Texas had successfully rebelled against the Mexican authorities and established their own Texas Republic.

But it is also the case that while Sutter lived in Missouri, he became a Santa Fé trader and traveled to New Mexico for two seasons during the mid-1830s. New Mexico at that time was full of shrewd Missouri traders like Charles and William Bent, Ceran St.



During the 1830s, Bent's Fort, located in what is now Colorado, served as the largest trading post in the West. One of few civilian-based forts constructed during this period, it offered Sutter a model for his own enterprise in California. The model of Fort Bent shown here, which can be seen in the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico, was built by Jack Adams, ca. 1912–1915, most likely as part of an exhibition at the Panama California Exposition held in San Diego in 1915. Photograph by Jesse Nusbaum, Courtesy Museum of New Mexico, 12226.

Vrain, and Charles Beaubien. The latter two men eventually acquired huge land grants in that province. In 1833, only two years before Sutter made his first trip to Santa Fé, Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain had constructed Bent's Fort, to be managed by Charles's brother William. The younger Bent's presence and influence was so powerful that almost inevitably Bent's Fort soon came to be called Fort William. Built on the north bank of the Arkansas River twelve miles upstream from the confluence of the Arkansas and the Purgatoire, it was "strategically located on the north-south trade axis between the Platte River drainage and Santa Fe and on the east-west route of the Santa Fe Trail."¹³ In a remarkably short time this establishment became "a center for Indian trade, the collecting of furs and buffalo robes, stock raising and other enterprises." Bent's Fort was, in fact, to become one of the most famous multipurpose trading posts in the whole American West, and its owners, the Bent brothers and Ceran St. Vrain, were men well known to Mexicans and Anglo-Americans alike.¹⁴

It would probably be an insult to the ambitious young Sutter's intelligence to think that he was not aware of the incredible commercial success of the Bents with their fort, and with their trading and land connections in Santa Fé and Taos. In short, operations at Bent's Fort undoubtedly offered a model for a future Sutter's Fort.¹⁵

The circumstantial evidence that Sutter entertained such ideas is strengthened by the fact that he befriended Charles Beaubien, a French Canadian who had been a fur trader in New Mexico and who then married into a Mexican family and received a large land grant. A naturalized citizen, Beaubien served as alcalde of Taos, a position roughly equivalent to a justice of the peace, and later as a United States territorial judge in New Mexico. Not only did Sutter and Beaubien become friends while the former was in Taos in the 1830s, but Beaubien had also been to California as a youth and described the country and its delightful climate to Sutter in flattering terms. According to Zollinger, Sutter later said that Beaubien's tales had persuaded him that he must see this wonderful place called California.¹⁶

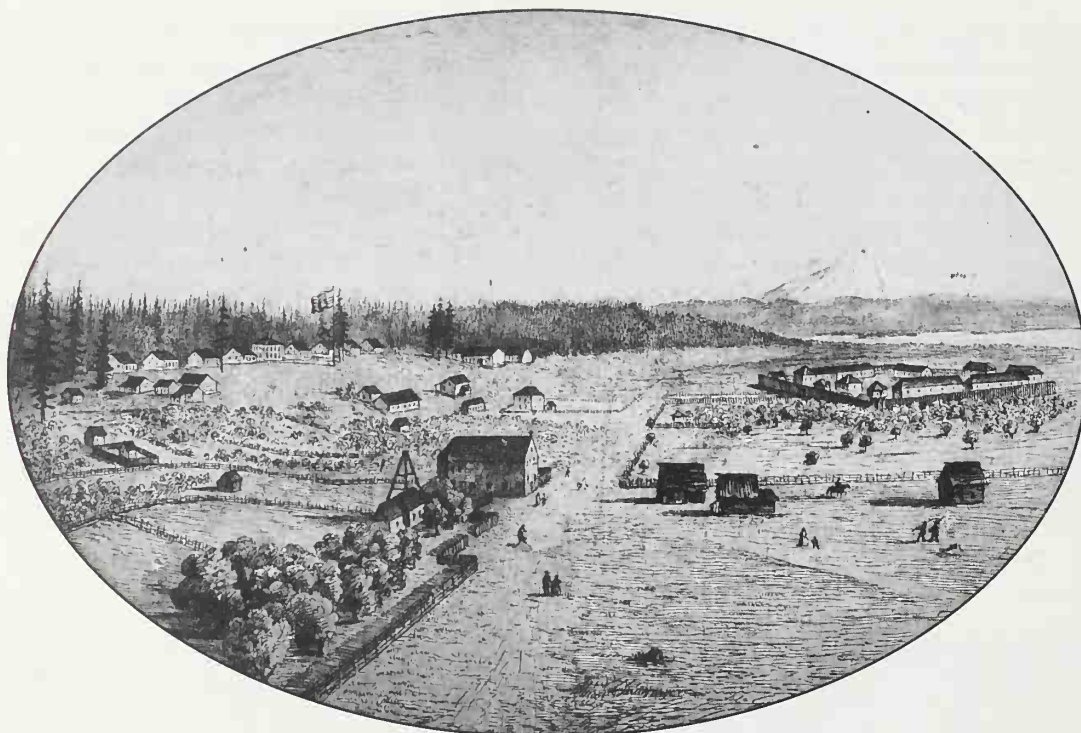
Again it seems inconceivable that Beaubien and Sutter, sitting in Taos, New Mexico, would have discussed only California's landscape and climate. Surely they also spoke of the land grants that could

be acquired there. One wonders whether Sutter did not also discuss California's Indian population, which Beaubien might have compared to the peaceful Puebloans of New Mexico. In short, while some of Sutter's biographers have presented the image of Sutter as depressed or even suicidal, as a failure in business and deeply in debt to Missouri friends, it seems more likely that when he set out overland for California in the 1830s, he was then envisioning a hopeful future in a new Spanish borderland region, said to be far more fertile, more promising, and less exploited than New Mexico.¹⁷

No person bent on suicide would have promoted himself as an ex-captain of the Royal Swiss Guard of King Charles X of France, the convenient fiction that Sutter circulated about himself while still in Missouri and often repeated in later years. Nor does a suicidal person take along a Mexican mule driver, Pablo Gutiérrez from Santa Fé, or an Indian boy, purchased halfway across the continent, as a guide. Nor would a man considering self-destruction take in tow along the way two fellow Europeans, Niklaus Allgeier, a Bavarian, and Sebastian Keyser from the Tyrol.¹⁸ His overland trek was a speculative venture, not a suicidal flight.

Sutter went west in a large and diverse company. The leader was Andrew Drips, a veteran American Fur Company trader who was freighting trade goods to the annual fur rendezvous taking place that season at the confluence of the Popo Agie and Wind rivers in modern Wyoming. Captain William Drummond Stewart, a wealthy son of a Scottish nobleman and a sportsman—who a year before had hired Alfred Jacob Miller to paint western scenes as a record of his adventures in the wilds of western North America—was another interesting and, for Sutter, informative member of the expedition. As was always the case when he met someone of importance, Sutter extracted a letter of recommendation from Captain Stewart.¹⁹ In addition, the party included a band of Oregon-bound Congregational missionaries and their wives, led by the self-important and quarrelsome William Gray, who was able to add to Sutter's knowledge of conditions in the Columbia River region.

Bernard DeVoto suggests that on the Oregon Trail, Sutter and the Drips party may have met Joseph Walker, who was taking east a herd of California horses, intending to sell them at the fur-trading



John Sutter's travels in Oregon included stops at the Hudson's Bay Company and Fort Vancouver, shown in this 1860 J.W. Hopkins sketch. With the decline of the Oregon fur trade and the arrival of American settlers in the region, the fort ceased operations. Coincidentally, at the same time Sutter began to lose hold on his own empire, in part because of the discovery of gold and the onrush of miners to his land. *Courtesy Oregon Historical Society.*

posts on the plains. As one of the first Anglo-Americans to find an overland route to California, Walker surely would have told Sutter something about California. Indeed, Joe Walker had spent the winter of 1833–34 in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley, where Sutter eventually located.²⁰

As luck would have it, one Captain Francis Ermatinger, a Canadian of Swiss ancestry who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, was at the American fur trade rendezvous in 1838. Ermatinger helped Sutter and his party to reach Fort Hall and then provided a guide to get them to Fort Boise. On this part of the trip, Sutter also met Jason Lee, the pioneer Methodist missionary in the Willamette Valley who was heading east to raise money and fresh recruits for his mission enterprise at Salem.²¹

If Sutter learned more about California on the Oregon Trail, his education did not stop there. In Oregon he first visited Lee's mission establishment, by now a center of Anglo-American settlement. Soon Sutter was telling in Oregon the story that he "was on his way to California to buy cattle for Oregon, intending to leave them here"; then he would go to Switzerland, return with his family, and found a Swiss settlement. Since the Willamette Valley settlers were still badly in need of cattle, salesman Sutter was telling them what they wanted to hear. Only a year before, Ewing Young, aided by Lieutenant W. A. Slacum, had brought seven hundred head from California to the Willamette Valley.²²

Sutter, as we know, then embarked on an introductory tour of Pacific Coast maritime trade centers.

First he visited James Douglas, the acting chief factor at the Hudson's Bay Company's impressive Fort Vancouver. Douglas was so taken with Sutter that he secured passage for him and his companions on a vessel going to Honolulu, with the idea that Sutter would go from there to California. Once he arrived in Hawaii, Sutter charmed the local consuls and resident Anglo-Americans almost out of their minds before arranging a voyage to New Archangel, Alaska, as the best way of getting to California. At New Archangel, as suggested earlier, he ingratiated himself with Captain Kuprianov, governor of the Russian-American Company, and his wife, Princess Menchnikov—impressing all by speaking in Spanish to some, in German to others, and in French to still others.²³

The point of this lengthy recital is not to list Sutter's social conquests but to summarize his acquisition of knowledge about the various trading systems that operated along the Pacific Coast. By the time Sutter reached California he had personally witnessed how the three most successful trading posts in the entire West worked: Bent's Fort, Fort Vancouver, and the Russian headquarters at New Archangel. (On his way west he had also visited Fort Laramie, an important enterprise for the American Fur Company.) He knew what they traded and what they needed. He could see that two were located near the confluence of two rivers: Bent's Fort on the Arkansas upstream from the Purgatoire, and Fort Vancouver on the Columbia near the mouth of the Willamette. Bent's Fort and Fort Vancouver were also situated on established trade routes, while Fort Vancouver and New Archangel had access to the Pacific Ocean. He also must have realized that New Archangel was vulnerable due to the fact that it had no adequate local food supply, depending on wheat and other foodstuffs imported from Fort Ross, its California outpost.

In choosing to locate near the confluence of the American and the Sacramento rivers, John Sutter combined a frontier trading-outpost concept with the idea of maritime trade in a spot where fur traders moved back and forth from the Oregon Country to California's Central Valley, and where Anglo-Americans would naturally gather after an overland trek across the Sierra Nevada.²⁴ In terms of crash-course preparation, Sutter was as well

versed as any trader ever needed to be in order to establish a successful outpost in the wilderness. Moreover, Albert Hurtado indicates that Sutter also adopted the Indian labor system practiced at the California missions and on the ranchos as a model for his own labor force at New Helvetia.²⁵ Between 1839 and 1846, when the Bear Flag Revolt occurred, Sutter's Fort grew from a set of Hawaiian-style grass huts to an adobe structure of imposing size. In some ways it resembled Bent's Fort, also built of adobe. After Sutter purchased Fort Ross, however, he hauled some of the Russian-built wood structures from the Mendocino coast to New Helvetia for incorporation into Sutter's Fort. Just as Spanish, Russian, British, and Anglo-American fur traders had met in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley in the 1830s, at least symbolically a Siberian-North Pacific wood culture met an adobe culture from the Southwest in the buildings of Sutter's Fort.²⁶

What Sutter tried to do to turn his wilderness outpost into an empire—a genuine New Helvetia—in seven short years is impressive by itself. As was the case at the other great outposts that he had visited, he now traded with Indians, participated in the fur trade, tried to raise food, and successfully built up herds of horses and cattle. With an energy often marked by a sense of desperation, and with reliance on Indian labor, he began to raise wheat and distill brandy from local grapes. Moreover, he tried his hand at irrigation, though he never understood that his wheat crops required it. He set out fruit trees, raised sheep, had Indian women weave woolen blankets, and tried to manufacture wool felt hats.²⁷

That Sutter succeeded at all was the more impressive because he had no resources of his own. He over-stretched his credit with merchants William A. Leidesdorff and Nathan Spear in Monterey and Yerba Buena for many kinds of supplies, with Mariano Vallejo for cattle, and with Anglo-Americans in the vicinity, like John Marsh, for cattle and articles meant for the Indian trade. Sutter soon became notorious for his unwillingness to pay bills; but somehow he managed to placate most of his creditors.

Further, as Albert Hurtado has noted, Sutter introduced various Indian groups to routines of daily work set by the European time clock and calendar. He had an Indian military contingent to defend his property and retaliate against hostiles. Almost by default he became a frontier military commander



Nisenan Mike Clenso, photographed here with his wife, was among the Indians who were recruited to work at Sutter's Fort. Without the native workforce, the Swiss entrepreneur would never have succeeded. *Courtesy California State Library.*

and a civilian alcalde in one. He did not hesitate to execute Indian enemies, perform wedding ceremonies, or get rid of an out-of-favor mistress by marrying her to one of his workers.²⁸

But if we are to look at Sutter in entrepreneurial terms, we must also realize what he was up against. Unlike the British in the Oregon Country or the Russians in Alaska, he had no government-protected monopoly to back him up; unlike the Bents, he was

not well-heeled when he began building his empire. Sutter also had enemies. Simply by establishing himself as a second authority figure in the interior valley, he became a counterpoise and therefore a threat to General Vallejo. Nor was he trusted by the Mexican authorities at Monterey. Sutter, in fact, was surrounded by potential and real adversaries and rivals: *californios*, Indians, the Russians at Fort Ross, and even the Hudson's Bay Company, which continued to send fur brigades down to the Central Valley to compete with his own hunters.

Unlike so many entrepreneurs, Sutter did not have support from business partners or a real company structure. The Bents had St. Vrain, other friendly white traders, and even Indian allies to assist them. McLoughlin had the backing of the Hudson's Bay Company. In contrast, Sutter ran a one-man show. To be sure, Sutter's friendliness and charismatic charm attracted many able individuals to work for him, including John Bidwell, William Swasey, Heinrich Lienhard, George McKinstry, William Grimshaw, Pierson B. Reading, and later, of course, James Marshall; but these associates and boon companions formed a loosely allied retinue, frequently changing, not a business organization.²⁹

In the course of erecting his empire, Sutter learned that one must have not just a labor force, but also craftsmen, artisans, suppliers, and the right tools and trade goods to succeed. Fort Vancouver and, to a lesser degree, New Archangel had skilled blacksmiths and gunsmiths, carpenters, farmers, herds-men, and grist-mill operators. Sutter at first had none; nor could the Indians or Mexican population adequately supply these skills. John Bidwell tells of Indians having to cut wheat with iron hooks or sharp reeds. The Fort Sutter account book suggests that blacksmith Samuel Neal was in such demand that he worked night and day fashioning or repairing needed metal tools.³⁰

Sutter found those missing artisans—those blacksmiths, carpenters, and the like—among the Anglo-American overland immigrants arriving in California, for whom Sutter's Fort was the first sign of civilization after crossing the Great Basin and the Sierra. Similarly he found that what few supplies he could get came from the New England expatriate John Marsh, from the Anglo-American merchant traders on the coast, like Thomas O. Larkin and Nathan Spear, and from the West Indies-born



Sacramento in 1849. With the Gold Rush, the town of Sacramento took shape as a commercial center that soon eclipsed Sutter's Fort. *Courtesy California State Library.*

William Leidesdorff. Moreover, the non-Hispanic newcomers were likely to be the main purchasers of his furs, horses, cattle, and grain.

Since Governor Alvarado had originally authorized Sutter's venture to secure California's northern interior against wild Indians and Anglo-American intrusion, the history of New Helvetia has more than a touch of irony. Sutter's Fort became the port of entry for Anglo-Americans from the eastern states, as well as a trading center for Indians all the way north to Oregon and as far south as the Mariposa region. Moreover, particularly since he had resided in Missouri for some years, Sutter attracted a wide circle of associates with interests distinct from those

of Hispanic Californians. Easily influenced by those around him and struggling for economic survival, the master of Sutter's Fort pointed New Helvetia toward a destiny far different from that which he and Governor Alvarado had originally intended.³¹

When Sir George Simpson, the brilliant, calculating governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, came to California in 1841, he at once saw the larger strategic, economic, and political meaning of Sutter's Fort:

If he [Sutter] really has the talent and courage to make the most of his position, he is not unlikely to render California a second Texas. Even now the

Americans only want a rallying-point for carrying into effect their theory that the English race is destined by "right divine" to expel the Spaniards from their ancient seats, a theory which has already begun to develop itself in more ways than one. . . . Now, for fostering and maturing Brother Jonathan's ambitious views, Captain Sutter's establishment is admirably situated. Besides lying on the direct route between San Francisco on the one hand and the Missouri and Willamette on the other, it virtually excludes the Californians from all the best parts of their own country.—the valleys of the San Joaquin, the Sacramento, and the Colorado. Hitherto the Spaniards have confined themselves to the comparatively barren slip of land, varying from ten to forty miles in width, which lies between the ocean and the first range of mountains, and beyond this slip they will never penetrate with their present character and their present force, if Captain Sutter, or any other adventurer, can gather round him a score of such marksmen as won Texas on the field of San Jacinto.

In Sir George's perceptive analysis, the importance of Sutter's Fort extended well beyond the Central Valley. "For the Americans," he added, "if masters of the interior, will soon discover that they have a natural right to a maritime outlet, so that, whatever may be the fate of Monterey and the more southerly ports, San Francisco will, to a moral certainty, sooner or later fall into the hands of the Americans. . . ." ³² In other words, Sir George believed that Sutter's Fort was the key not just to the Central Valley, but to future control over San Francisco Bay as well, potentially the most significant commercial and military site along the entire Pacific Coast of North America.

When Sutter bought Fort Ross from the Russians in 1841, he so overextended himself financially that he may well have ruined his chances for keeping his empire, even without a Bear Flag Revolt in 1846 or the discovery of gold in January of 1848. Yet what he accomplished in the eight and a half years between his arrival and the beginning of the Gold Rush was phenomenal. At first he could supply only furs, hides, captive or rented Indian labor, and grape brandy; but by 1846 he was selling wheat and cattle, his tannery produced leather for shoes and saddles, his blacksmiths were making spurs and bridle bits, and local Indian women wove blankets and felted hats from the wool supplied by his flocks of sheep.

The *New Helvetia Diary* of 1845–48, kept by Sutter, Bidwell, Swasey, and Loker, records that Sutter's

establishment supplied thirty sides of sole leather for Don Miguel Pedrorena, twenty-nine sides for John C. Davis, and another ten sides of upper leather for John Williams. From his growing flocks, Sutter delivered a hundred sheep to William Leidesdorff. Samuel Neal, one of Sutter's blacksmiths in 1845, was busy making cranks, augers, and hinges. ³³ The Hawaiians who had accompanied Sutter to the Sacramento Valley raised hogs and built him a hog pen. When John C. Frémont arrived in 1845 and peremptorily demanded horses and mules, Sutter's agents toured the local ranches to find them.

At the same time, the *New Helvetia Diary* also suggests that Sutter's employees were constantly making do. In October and November of 1847, for example, the record says they were turning a barracks into a warehouse for wheat and using bricks from a barracks chimney to make a "new fire" in the blacksmith shop. ³⁴

Concerning the Bear Flag Revolt and the U.S. conquest of California, much has been made of how Frémont humiliated Sutter by placing young Lieutenant Edward Kern in charge of Sutter's Fort. But Sutter, now a lieutenant himself, had fifty enlisted men under him, and he saw to it that they got clothes, rations, and pay from the United States government, with himself getting a bigger share than the others. ³⁵ Indeed, Sutter's Fort appears to have played a larger role in outfitting and provisioning the Anglo-American conquerors than we realize. Besides providing horses, mules, tools, and foodstuffs for Frémont, New Helvetia's fields and workshops supplied food and goods to the U.S. naval ships on the coast. On the other hand, the rudimentary nature of New Helvetia's commercial operations in 1846 can be seen in the Sutter's Fort record of Edward Kern, who tried to order silk handkerchiefs, saleratus, raisins, and braid, along with tea, sugar, and coffee, from coastal merchants. Most of these items Kern found simply were not available at the fort, while others were prohibitively expensive. ³⁶ The Sutter's Fort trade, however limited, was a two-way traffic.

Sutter claimed later that he had prospered in 1846–47, at the time of the Anglo-American conquest of California, and declared that he would have continued to do so but for epidemics among Indian workers and, of course, the consequences of an event noted in the *New Helvetia Diary* for July 21, 1847: "Marshall with Nerio left to the Mountains on

the Amer: fork, to select the site for the Saw Mill." Then a few months later came another entry: "Mr. Marshall arrived from the Mountains on very important business."³⁷

It could be argued that Sutter was only the last and most dramatic of a familiar type of frontier entrepreneur who helped develop North America. The number of organizations that they managed was truly impressive, ranging from colonial Indian and fur-trading outposts to the big companies like those of the Chouteaus and the American and Rocky Mountain fur firms that operated out of St. Louis during the nineteenth century. But the roll of wilderness entrepreneurs should also include colonizers such as Stephen F. Austin in Texas and Brigham Young in Utah, as well as smaller on-site traders such as the Torrey brothers in Texas.³⁸ To be sure, all of them failed; but by failing in their original purpose they succeeded in accomplishing a larger one. Several examples help illustrate this generalization.

Let us go back to exactly one hundred years before John Sutter set out from Missouri in 1838 to seek his destiny in California. In 1738 a young Irishman named William Johnson came to America and settled in the frontier area of New York Province. He located on the south side of the Mohawk River near the mouth of the Schoharie. Although he had migrated initially to manage an estate belonging to an uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, Johnson went immediately into the fur trade, selling goods to Indians and nearby white settlers alike. In 1739, a hundred years before Sutter settled in the Sacramento Valley, Johnson got a tract of land near present-day Amsterdam, New York. An ambitious, land-hungry man, he built up one of the largest landed estates in British colonial America.³⁹ He befriended the Six Nations of the Iroquois, married an Indian woman—after his German-born wife had died—and then, after the death of his second wife, married Molly Brant, sister of the powerful Iroquois leader Joseph Brant. Johnson was a wonderful diplomat, a fine trader, and a crucial figure in Indian affairs. One has to say he was a far more organized and able entrepreneur than John Sutter ever was. As a "Colonel of the Six Nations" and a baronet, Sir William Johnson's titles were more legitimate than Sutter's self-promotion to be captain of the Swiss Guards and general of a California regiment.



John A. Sutter, in a portrait "presented to Sutter's Fort by the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors, 1925." *Courtesy California State Library.*

Johnson lived in style at Johnson Hall like a nobleman, much as Sutter wanted to live and perhaps did for a brief time at Hock Farm. Yet as one of Johnson's biographers has noted, "He did not foresee the rapidity with which conditions were to be changed by the westward march of the white settlers, but rather to have visualized a static condition with a boundary line holding back the tide of settlement."⁴⁰ By opening up the Mohawk Valley, Johnson sowed the seeds of his own destruction. Although he died on the eve of the American Revolution, his son, Sir John Johnson, and his son-in-law, Sir Guy Johnson, lost their estates because they were Tories. Sir Guy spent his last years in London trying to secure compensation from Parliament for the loss of his estates, much like Sutter's attempts, a century later, to persuade Congress to pay him for his lost lands.⁴¹

In similar fashion, William Bent saw his trading empire and his success at maintaining peaceful Indian relations on the Arkansas ruined by gold seekers on their way to Pike's Peak in Colorado in 1859. He tried to sell his fort to the U.S. government, just as Sutter tried to sell his post to the army; but when the U.S. offered an insultingly low price, Bent blew up the structure and built another elsewhere. A sense of loyalty to their Cheyenne mother and her people persuaded some of Bent's children to become "Indian" while others declared themselves to be "white." But the point is that the westward march of Anglo-American settlers ruined Bent's empire, just as it had Johnson's and Sutter's.⁴²

In far away Oregon, Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Company's chief factor at Fort Vancouver, for many years ran a small empire based on furs, trade goods, cattle, farm produce, salmon fishing, and timber. He successfully held back Anglo-American fur trappers by pursuing a scorched-earth policy for twenty years, trapping out the interior just as Sutter was supposed to do to Hudson's Bay trapping territory in the San Joaquin Valley.⁴³ But, inevitably, Anglo-American settlers came. McLoughlin, rather than trying to freeze them out, greeted them, fed them, and supplied them with all the warmth and openness characteristic of Sutter's hospitality toward trail-weary emigrants from the Mississippi Valley. But McLoughlin also realized that the fur trade was declining and that Oregon might become part of the United States. He invested in property at a mill site in Oregon City, only to lose his estate because he was not a naturalized U.S. citizen, and because of the jealousy of other land-hungry settlers. He and his devoted part-Indian wife eked out a modest existence in Oregon City for the rest of their lives, much as Sutter and his wife were to do in a small Pennsylvania town during their last years. McLoughlin, beset by legal fees and defeat in the U.S. courts, could compare his lot to that of Sutter, Sir Guy Johnson, and William Bent.⁴⁴

Yet there is another side to this story. Hudson's Bay Company officials such as sirs George Simpson and James Douglas had long understood that Oregon furs were playing out, and that Anglo-American settlers would take over before long. Secretly, they undermined McLoughlin's sincere efforts to "hold the fort," as it were, planning to withdraw to Vancouver Island and establish a new headquarters at

Victoria. With the Americanization of Oregon south of the Columbia River by settlers, followed by the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty in 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company did just that. James Douglas, whom Sutter had visited in 1838 at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, closed out operations at Fort Vancouver and founded Fort Victoria in 1849.

But for Sir George Simpson and other company officials, this would be the last retreat from the Anglo-Americans. When a Hudson's Bay Company employee discovered gold on Canada's Fraser River in 1858, California's placer gold was playing out, and so some 25,000 miners, mostly from California, took boats to Victoria and went on to the Fraser River, or else they came up the Columbia River to the Fraser. Douglas saw Anglo-American merchants taking over Victoria. What had been a town of three hundred was soon a little city of several thousand, of whom nine-tenths were Anglo-Americans or Europeans. Douglas believed that if he did not take action, the next step would be for the Anglo-Americans to take over the region by the process of popular sovereignty, miners' courts, and self-government.

To prevent such an outcome, in 1858 the British Parliament created the colony of British Columbia and made Douglas its governor. He, in turn, appointed gold commissioners to run the camps, and the British government designated a tall, powerful, ruthless judge, Matthew Baille Begbie, to exact justice. Judge Begbie became a kind of Stephen J. Field for the Canadian Far West. Faced by the determined wills and policies of Douglas and Begbie, the Americans behaved.⁴⁵ The British policy of holding back the Anglo-Americans was aided by the fact that the Fraser River mines had many shortcomings: the season was short, the distance long, and the mining areas remote; and so the boom soon ended. Most Anglo-Americans quickly went back to the States or moved on to new gold strikes in the American Rockies.

When a second gold rush to the Cariboo region occurred in the 1860s, the British were ready for that one, too, and it remained largely a British frontier. British royal engineers provided protection for the gold-seekers and built vital links to the gold fields as well. But when an American outlaw named Ned McGowan tried to take over a town and commit robberies, government troops descended in such force

that Americans knew it was no contest.⁴⁶ To be sure, Victoria soon became a regular settlement instead of a fur trade capital; but unlike all the other fur-trading enterprises in the West, which eventually failed or closed up shop, the Hudson's Bay Company survived by going into general trade and continuing to serve relatively unpopulated areas. The company's survival is, in fact, an exception to the generalization that wilderness empires fulfill their ultimate destiny by failing.

To the north, in Russian Alaska, the fur business was also in decline; indeed, the Russian-American Company ships were now more engaged in the China tea trade than in furs. And while no population rush to Alaska ever overwhelmed this imperial outpost, eventually Russia decided to sell Alaska to the United States, an act that averted what might have been a British or American takeover.⁴⁷ These trading empires created the favorable conditions that led settlers to come and fur supplies to decline, thus hastening the empire's demise. In that long progress of frontier commercial ventures from the Virginia Company to Sir William Johnson in New York, to the Panton Leslie Company in British Florida, to Bent's Fort at the edge of the Colorado Rockies and the Chouteaus on the Oklahoma plains to Fort Vancouver, and finally to Sutter's Fort and New Archangel, we see a process in which wilderness entrepreneurs like John Sutter were absolutely essential—but destined to fail. In short, John Sutter had played out his role successfully by 1846. The Bear Flag Rebellion and Gold Rush were not his climactic years, but an aftermath.

John Sutter was often foolish, impulsive, impolitic, needlessly cruel to Indians, and temperamental. He was outrageous in his behavior to his own son, who had more business sense than he did.⁴⁸ These qualities helped destroy what estate he did have after the Gold Rush; but in the perspective of time, one man—not a company or a government-protected monopoly—opened the way for American settlers in California. That is no mean achievement for the short, fat, charming adventurer from Burgdorf. Like others of his kind, by sowing the seeds of his own ruin this most charming of these wilderness entrepreneurs succeeded in history beyond his wildest dreams.

After the death of John Augustus Sutter in 1880,

John Bidwell, his one-time clerk, surveyor, and assistant who had helped keep the *New Helvetia Diary* from 1845 to 1848, wrote to William F. Swasey, who formerly was one of Sutter's clerks. Bidwell's letter contained a fitting epitaph: "Marshall may have discovered the gold," he wrote, "but in a broader and grander sense—in a great and true sense—Sutter was the discoverer." The "great discovery" he continued, "... awakened our country into new life—Its wonderful power moved the world, and led not only to a mass migration of people, but to the discovery of silver in Nevada, gold in Australia and gave the Union the resources to fight the Civil War."

Bidwell's Sutter was "under Providence the humble instrument or forerunner . . . who had a large business capacity. . . . But his hope in the future always led him to undertake too much." Bidwell then added, "It seems almost a mockery to starve the noble pioneer to death, and starve his broken hearted wife to death also, and then immediately proceed to do grand things to perpetuate his memory."⁴⁹ But one must distinguish between process and high tragedy. Sutter, though a brilliant wilderness entrepreneur, was but part of a larger, almost inevitable process.

Let us give Sutter's old friend George McKinstry the last word. Writing in 1851 to Edward Kern, who was back East, he said:

The 'Embarcadero' is now the large city of Sacramento, the old fort is fast going to decay; the last time I was there I rode through and there was not a living soul to be seen. What a fall is there, my fellow. . . . Times are not as they uster was.

But McKinstry felt Sutter was doing well at Hock Farm; Sam Neal, the Sutter's Fort blacksmith, was prospering as a farmer, and though many pioneers had boomed and busted, McKinstry said California was doing well. Poking fun at the inclination of Californians to boast about their state, he told Kern that cabbages there weighed fifty-three pounds per head and Irish potatoes were thirty-three inches in circumference. Cabbages and potatoes had replaced grand pioneer days, but McKinstry's mood was nostalgic rather than tragic.⁵⁰

Whether we think of California's foremost wilderness entrepreneur as a hero, charlatan, or tragic figure, he deserves recognition and study because he borrowed and combined many ideas, techniques,



These views, an aerial of the exterior and an interior of the fort's general store (at right), show Sutter's Fort shortly after restoration, which was completed to coincide with Sacramento's Centennial celebration in 1939. Inside the general store, displays of hardware, tools, kitchenware, and drygoods demonstrate one aspect of Sutter's frontier entrepreneurship. Operated by the state Department of Parks and Recreation, the fort is open daily for tours. *Courtesy California State Library.*

economies, and cultures from other outposts of empire to use at Sutter's Fort. As we praise the way American pioneers of the colonial period survived, we should remember that they did so in part by adopting the Swedish log cabin and by using a new-style rifle that German gunsmiths perfected in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. We praise the accomplishments of American mountain men in the fur trade, but their

enterprise was built on French, English, and Russian precedents. Nothing is so American as cattle ranching and cowboys, but we now know that the open-range cattle business was an amalgam of several Spanish, Mexican, and Scottish traditions and techniques.⁵¹

Sutter, a Swiss émigré, combined frontier commercial systems borrowed from so many others that



he, too, began to look American. Because of his enterprise in shaping a successful eclectic combination, representing a larger American tradition of borrowing and adapting, we can rightly pay tribute to him as one of the great wilderness entrepreneurs.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 168.

*Howard R. Lamar is Sterling Professor of History emeritus at Yale University. Demonstrating a long concern with the role of frontier entrepreneurs such as John Sutter, his publications include *The Trader on the American Frontier: Myth's Victim* (1977). Professor Lamar has recently served as president of Yale University.*

EDWARD GOULD BUFFUM: Early California Journalist

by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

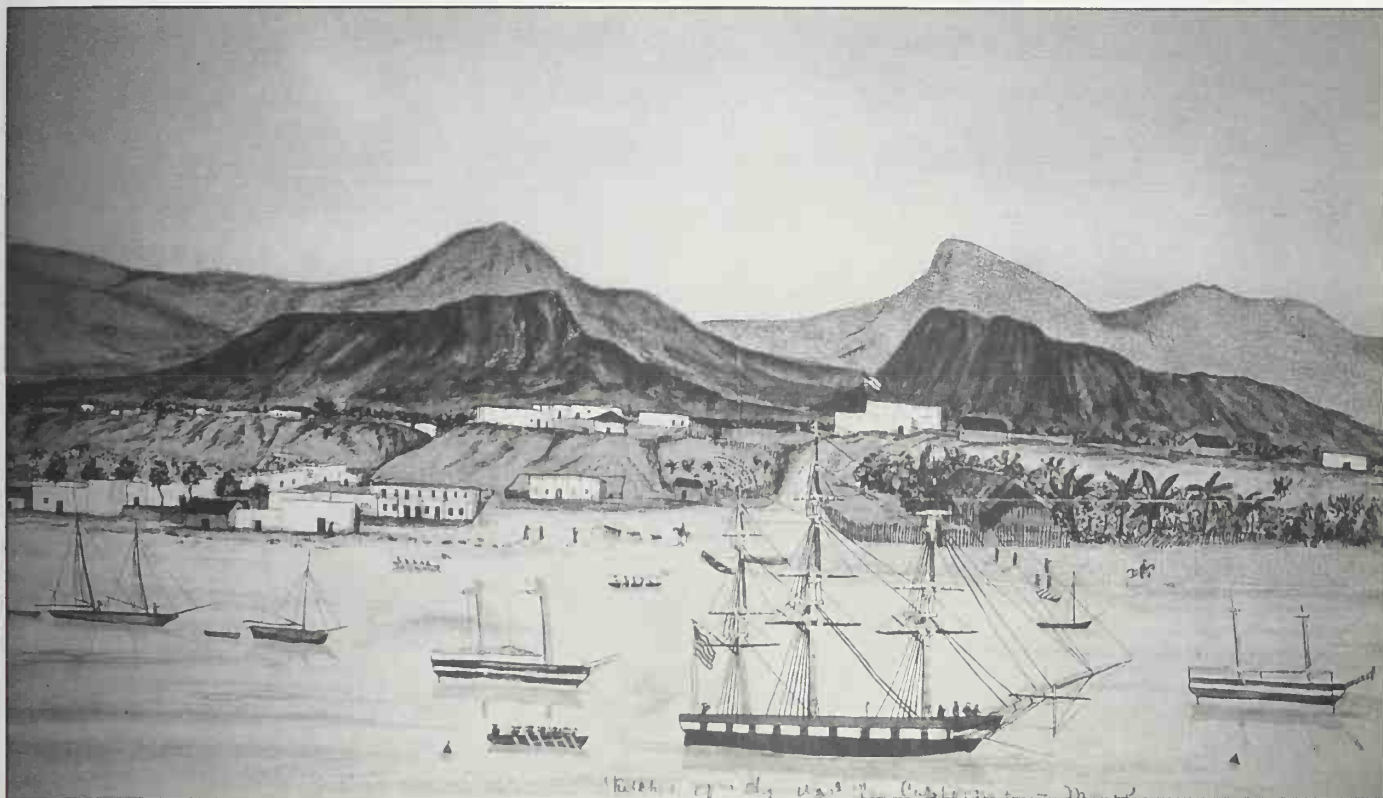
Mention the name Edward Gould Buffum to any California historian, the response would probably be immediate. He was the author of the first book to chronicle the Gold Rush, *Six Months in the Gold Mines: From a Journal of Three Years' Residence in Upper and Lower California, 1847–8–9*. This volume was published in Philadelphia by Lea and Blanchard in May 1850 and was printed by C. Sherman. On the title page the author's name appears as E. Gould Buffum, Lieutenant First Regiment of New York Volunteers.¹ Like James Wilson Marshall, the discoverer of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, Buffum has earned fame through a single act, the publication of his book. Although it is considered a classic in gold-rush literature, his life remains obscure in the annals of California history. His biography is like a jigsaw puzzle, bits and pieces, with some parts missing. Thus his life story remains sketchy at best.

Buffum was the descendant of generations of New England Quakers. The founder of the family, Robert Buffum, immigrated from England to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1632. When he died, the authorities refused to probate his will because none of his children would swear an oath as witnesses to its validity. Only after lengthy appeal to England was the matter finally settled and the estate probated. Quakers were known for their staunch adherence to principle and non-compliance to higher authority if it meant a breach of their beliefs. Thus Buffum's daughter Deborah was punished for criticizing the local government: she was tied to a cart and publicly whipped. A son was imprisoned for a time, then banished from Salem for spreading his Quaker views.

Later a grandson settled in Rhode Island, where he became a prosperous farmer, miller, and cloth manufacturer. His grandson, a distinguished jurist, won a small niche in history by declining an appointment to the Rhode Island State Supreme Court because he refused to impose a death sentence.²

E. Gould Buffum's father, Arnold (1782–1859), born near Providence, Rhode Island, was of like tradition. A businessman, he was very successful as a hat manufacturer. He was also an inventor and had several patents registered in his name. However, Arnold became controversial because of his staunch abolitionist views. The first president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society when it was established in 1832, he became the society's agent in the ensuing years, speaking against the evils of slavery to audiences in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. For a time he edited the *Protectionist* in New Garden (now Fountain City), Indiana. He was a pioneer in early childhood education, helping to found several "infant schools" modeled on a contemporary movement in Europe that he came to admire while on a trip abroad. He was also an ardent supporter of temperance and had a keen interest in literature, as reflected in his splendid library. In 1803, he married Rebecca Gould of Newport, Rhode Island.³

E. Gould Buffum's older sister, Elizabeth (1806–1899), like her father, Arnold, was not only a dedicated abolitionist, but a militant one. She and her husband, Samuel B. Chace, labored in giving assistance to fugitive slaves. They operated an Underground Railroad station in Valley Falls, Rhode Island, that assisted slaves in their perilous flight to freedom in the North and Canada. Thinking the

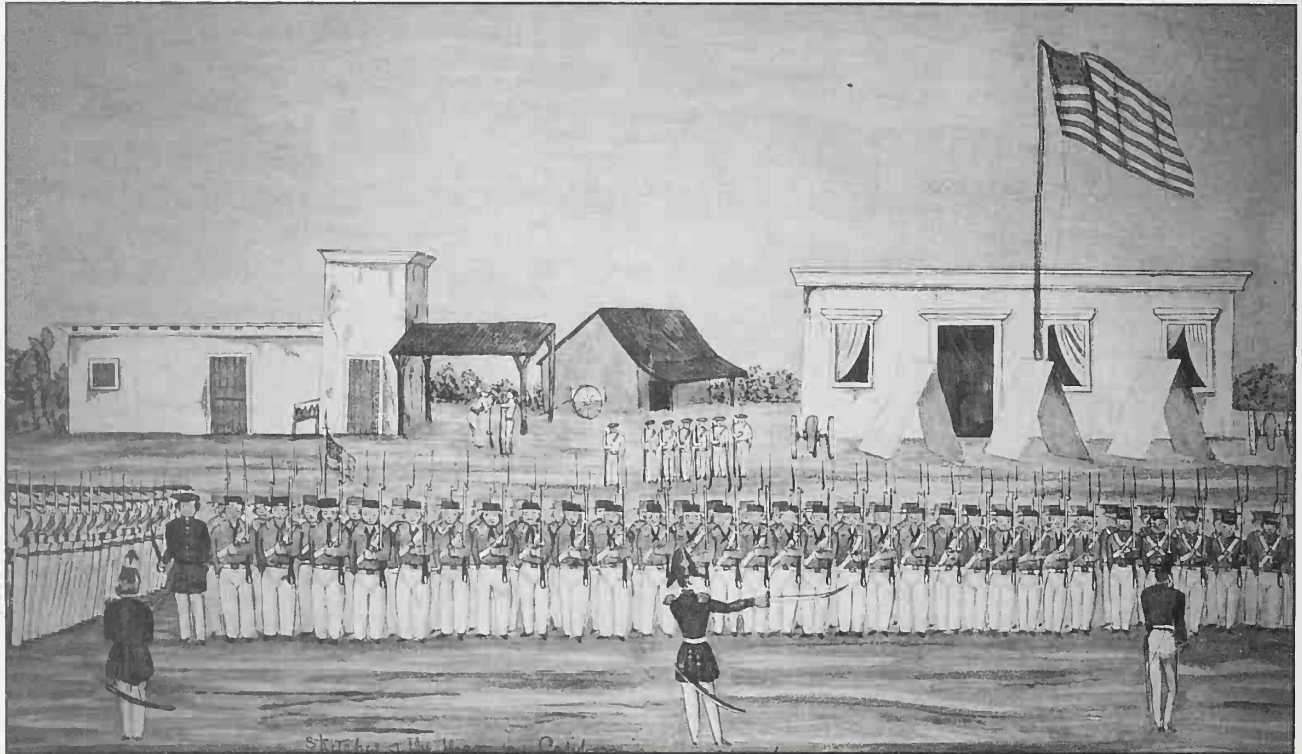


A volunteer of the New York militia, Edward Gould Buffum forsook journalism for an assignment that found him in La Paz, Baja California, in 1847, as part of the U.S. military invasion of Mexico after 1846. This contemporary watercolor is the work of artist William H. Meyers, a journalist and primitive painter who also served at La Paz, arriving aboard the *U.S.S. Dale* (in the foreground) as a gunner. To his surprise, Buffum found La Paz a picturesque setting, as evidenced by the tropical groves near the water's edge. *Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.*

Quakers indifferent to the abolition of slavery, she and her husband left that fellowship. An extraordinary woman, she was one of the early crusaders for women's rights and suffrage, as well as an advocate for temperance and humane penal reform. Like her brother, she contributed articles to the *New England Magazine* and the *Providence Journal*. "The mother of ten children, she was the affectionate center of her home, which amid all her activities, she never neglected."⁴

Ample evidence underscores the fact that the

Buffums were a deeply religious family, one actively concerned with the betterment of mankind. They also prized education and learning. Into this milieu was born Edward Gould Buffum, the second son of Arnold and Rebecca Buffum. It was a large family, five daughters and two sons. E. Gould was born in 1822, two years after his elder brother, William Arnold Buffum, in Springfield, Rhode Island, the exact date unknown.⁵ He received a solid Quaker-school education. Little is known of his boyhood and early teen years. However, in 1839, he struck out on



In July 1847, the New York volunteers landed at La Paz, and the American military received a hospitable welcome. This Meyer watercolor of the review of American sailors and marines also shows the U.S headquarters and other buildings constructed by the military after its arrival. *Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.*

his own and went to New York City, where he obtained employment on William James Bennett's New York *Herald*. A Scottish-born immigrant, Bennett had founded the penny-a-day newspaper in 1835. It was an instant success because of its thorough and entertaining reporting of local and national news, coverage of the stock and money markets, and its hard-hitting and pithy editorials. By 1842, the paper had its own building and a daily circulation of fifty thousand. E. Gould could not have had a better mentor than Bennett, America's first great editor/publisher.⁶ Other than two years of military service during the Mexican War, journalism would be the young man's profession for the rest of his life.

On May 13, 1846, the day war was declared, Secretary of War William L. Marcy, with the approval of President James K. Polk, sent a requisition to the states for the recruitment of 50,000 volunteers to serve in the military forces as authorized by Congress. New York state was asked to supply seven regiments of infantry, totaling some 5,500 men. Governor Silas Wright complied on May 28 and ordered his adjutant general in the state militia to enroll the requested regiments by June 15, a date that proved unrealistic. The governor's general order calling for volunteers was printed in the New York City newspapers on May 29 and 30. E. Gould came forward in response to that appeal. It would appear

that like his sister Elizabeth, he too had disaffiliated from the Quaker faith. He was elected a second lieutenant in Company B, Seventh Regiment of the New York Volunteers (in February 1848 renamed the First Regiment), under the command of Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, and was mustered into service on August 1, 1846.⁷

On July 26, Secretary of War Marcy had written to Stevenson an amazing letter of instructions, one that later proved highly controversial in the fight between the "peace doves" against the "war hawks" in the Congress and the nation at large. It read in part:

... great care should be taken to have it [the regiment] composed of suitable persons. I mean persons of good habits, as far as practicable of various pursuits and such as would be likely to desire to remain at the end of the war either in Oregon or any other territory in that region of the globe which may be then a part of the United States. . . . The men must be appraised expressly that their term of service is for the war and they are to be employed on a distant service. It is however very desirable that it should not be publicly known or proclaimed that they are to go to any particular province of Mexico. On this point great caution is enjoined.⁸

Later, some anti-war critics drew from the letter the inference that war with Mexico was motivated by conquest, not self-defense as asserted by the Polk administration.⁹

As a result of official authorization, recruiting offices opened between July 6 and 10 in various places around New York City to raise seven local companies. The New York *Herald* conveniently listed the addresses of each recruitment depot and urged volunteers to come forward. Formation of the regiment thus began in earnest. By July 31, Stevenson sent to the governor the roll and names of elected and commissioned officers and men of the companies recruited, as well as the three companies raised in the interior of the state. The Seventh Regiment of New York Volunteers had a full complement. On August 1, the regiment was mustered into service and posted to Fort Columbus, Governors Island, for outfitting and training.

It appears that prior to his enlistment, Buffum had become engaged to a young New York City resident, Harriet Crowinshield. Unhappily for him, "she died while he was in California," perhaps explaining

why he never married. During his twilight years, in a travel book that he authored before his death and was published two years later by his elder brother, William, E. Gould "described a moment of mortal peril which came close to him . . . and 'then,' he wrote, 'I thought of a pale-faced little girl whom I had loved when I was a boy.'" It would appear his love for her never diminished. "Had she lived, it is probable that Edward Gould Buffum's brilliant life would not have drifted to a tragic close."¹⁰

The Seventh Regiment of New York Volunteers embarked for California on September 26, with three companies and a physician assigned to each of the three ships. E. Gould was aboard the *Thomas H. Perkins*, as was Colonel Stevenson. "The Cal. expedition is off at last," a local city newspaper proclaimed.¹¹

The five-month voyage proved uneventful other than the restiveness of men unaccustomed to such confined quarters and the tedium of shipboard life. The *Thomas H. Perkins* was the first vessel of the flotilla to reach San Francisco, dropping anchor on March 6, 1847. The other two ships arrived on March 20 and 22.¹² Since hostilities in California had been ended by the Capitulation of Cahuenga, signed on January 13, 1847, the regiment was assigned occupation duty. Such was the fate that befell E. Gould's company.

On March 31, Companies A, B, and F, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry S. Burton, sailed on the *Moscow* for Santa Barbara, their new posting, where the three companies remained on duty until July.¹³

In the meantime, on January 11, 1847, Secretary of War Marcy pointed out in a dispatch to General Stephen W. Kearny, commander of United States forces and California's military governor, a major policy consideration:

It is important that the extent and character of our possessions in the territory conquered from the enemy should not be open to question or cavil. This remark . . . is in an especial manner applicable to the Californias. As to Upper California it is presumed no doubt can arise but it may not be so clear as to Lower California. It is expected that our flag will be hoisted in that part of the country, . . . possession taken, and continuously held, of some place or places in it, and our civil jurisdiction there asserted and upheld.¹⁴

Kearny received Marcy's letter on April 23. Five



General Stephen Watts Kearney, who in 1846 was named U.S. commander of the Army of the West, is shown in an engraving taken from an original daguerreotype. Courtesy California State Library.

days later he replied, noting that this was the first time he had received any specific instructions respecting Lower (Baja) California. Aware now that Washington desired the conquest of the peninsula, Kearny asked Commodore James Biddle, the naval squadron commander, for transport assistance. But before plans could be implemented, intelligence was received that General Anastasio Bustamante of Sonora was planning an attack on Upper (Alta) California, cancelling all American plans to seize Baja California. Alta California must be protected; the peninsula to the south was of secondary importance for the time being.¹⁵

With assurances that the threatened invasion had foundered, Kearny again turned his attention to the occupation of Baja California. He informed Commodore Biddle: "I am now prepared to send two volunteer companies (about 120) New York Volunteers now at Santa Barbara if you will furnish a vessel to transport them and remain with or near them."¹⁶ Biddle's cooperation secured, on May 30, Kearny ordered Lieutenant Colonel Burton to embark two companies of New York Volunteers, Companies A and B, at Santa Barbara on the store-ship *U.S.S. Lexington*, with at least six months' provisions. La Paz and San José del Cabo were designated as landing sites for the expedition, subject to discretionary decision on the part of Burton and the ship's captain.¹⁷

On July 4, the *Lexington* sailed from Santa Barbara with "an aggregate of 115" men. According to the invasion plan, companies A and B were to be the first United States expeditionary force to undertake the permanent occupation of Baja California, later to be joined by naval and marine personnel. But the troops hardly enjoyed the prospect before them. Second Lieutenant E. Gould Buffum, Company B, wrote several years later that he had gone "to Lower California in the full anticipation of living a miserable life for the time it would be necessary . . . to remain there." But on wading ashore at La Paz on the afternoon of July 21, he was much

... surprised . . . to find the prettiest town I had ever seen in California. The streets were lined with willow trees, which, meeting overhead, formed an arch, affording a delicious shade at midday. The houses were all of *adobe*, plastered white, and thatched with the leaves of the palm tree, and were most delightfully cool. The whole beach was lined with palms, date, fig, tamarind, and coconut trees, their delicious fruits hanging upon them in clusters.

This idyllic setting was also reflected by the countryside, which was "in a quiet state." Since "no American force had ever been stationed" at La Paz, "the inhabitants appeared much pleased" at the Americans' arrival and manifested "no hostility toward" them. Under orders "to take possession and hold the country," the troops pitched their camp in the plaza, "previous to removing into a large barrack, which was not then completed." After the men had

been "fairly barracked, the officers were allowed to live in rooms in the town and select such places as they choose." Buffum, for one, "lived in a style of Eastern luxuriance." The assignment proved a once-in-a-lifetime experience, a life of "greater perfection" than he had ever known before. Indeed, the entire detachment was warmly received and made welcome; La Paz hospitality was extended to all.¹⁸ Padre Ignacio Ramirez y Arollona, the resident Dominican priest, and Governor Francisco Palacios Miranda set the tone by their friendship toward and entertainment of the invaders.¹⁹

To the north, in and around Mulegé, however, a storm was gathering. Don Manuel Pineda, a captain in the Mexican army, supported by a band of officers and supplies from Guaymas, arrived in late September and began to recruit and organize *baja californios* to mount resistance to the region's "neutrality" and the compliance of Governor Miranda to United States authority. Hostilities broke out in mid-October at Mulegé and San José del Cabo. Naval forces contended with the first, and a meager garrison of four passed midshipmen and twenty marines was sent post haste as a counter to the latter.²⁰ The American garrison at La Paz, 112 strong, was attacked by Pineda's 200-man brigade on November 16. Repulsed, the Mexicans mounted another strong assault on November 27, but again to no avail. The Americans held firm. Buffum's Company B received the enemy "very coolly, and returned their fire with great effect."²¹

The ensuing struggle for the peninsula proved a bloody and trying one. The small American garrison at San José del Cabo suffered most while it lay under protracted siege, compounded by daily sallies by the enemy against the *cuartrel* (fort). For twenty-one days the Americans' situation worsened due to diminishing supplies, food, and water. Finally, on February 15, 1848, reinforcements landed and the siege was broken. Pineda's force, now some three hundred soldiers plus a contingent of fifty Yaqui Indians, retreated.²²

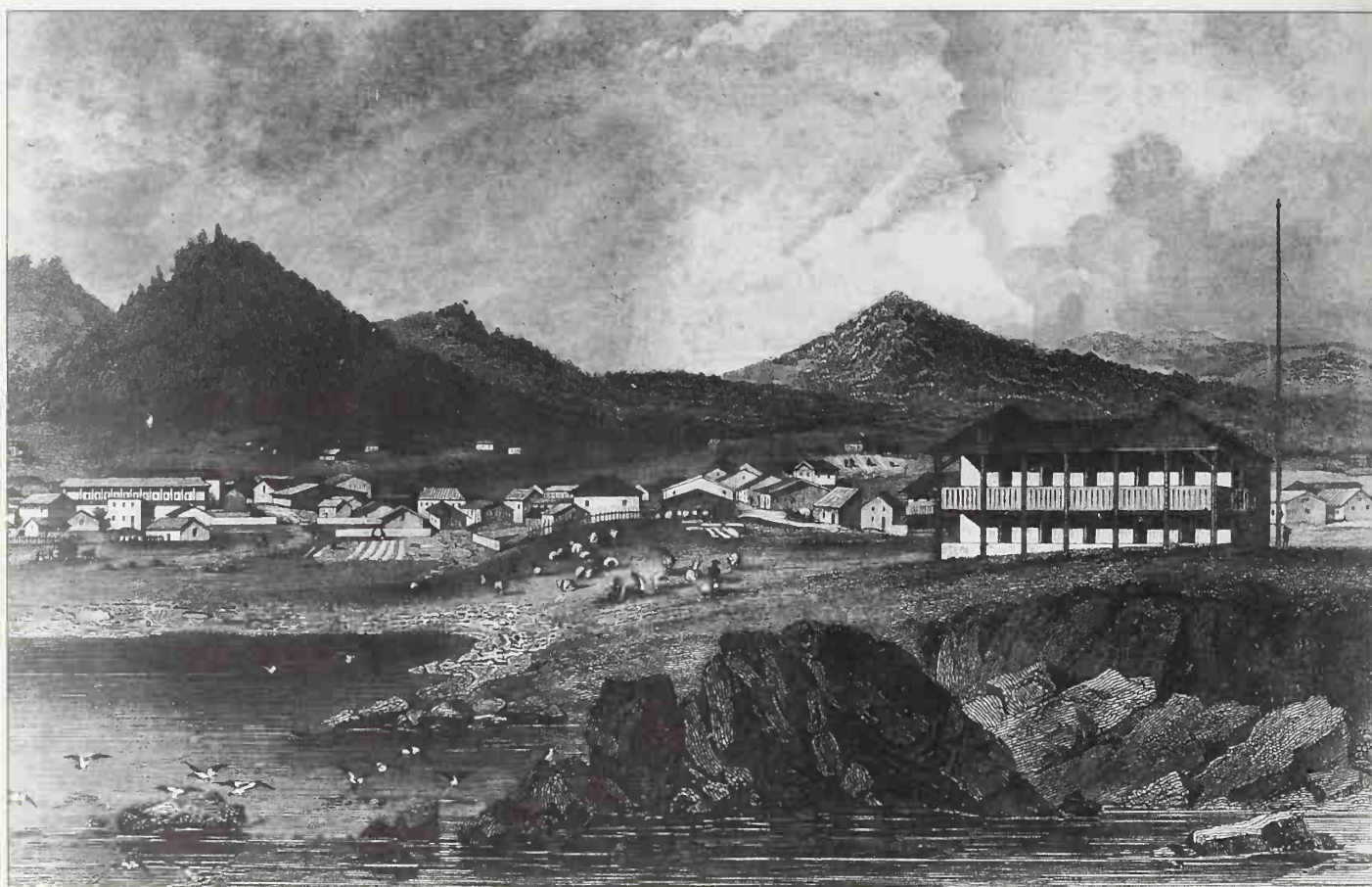
Skirmishes and hostile encounters continued to plague the occupation force. Additional troops from the New York Volunteers reached La Paz on March 20, 114 strong. With his command thus greatly strengthened to a total of "217 officers and men,"

Lieutenant Colonel Burton took to the field on March 26, intent on crushing Pineda once and for all. The following day Pineda was peacefully captured at the Mexican village of San Antonio, where he had unwittingly lingered too long. Pressing on, the American force met the Mexicans in a final confrontation on March 30 at the Battle of Todos Santos. The enemy was completely routed. Several mopping-up operations completed the task of subduing enemy opposition; hostilities in Baja California were ended. Ironically, these last endeavors were unnecessary. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been signed on February 2—peace had been restored. The war was over.²³

On June 13, Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the United States Pacific Squadron, then at Mazatlán, received news of the definitive ratification of the treaty of peace. When he received Jones's dispatch in La Paz, Burton was stunned by the fact that Baja California was to be returned to Mexico. But Jones's orders were specific: prepare to evacuate the troops. This was accomplished on August 31 at La Paz and at San José del Cabo on September 6. The *U.S.S. Ohio* sailed for Monterey, which was reached on October 9, 1848. So ended the last phase of the Mexican War.²⁴

E. Gould Buffum, bitter over the peace treaty's cession of Baja California to Mexico, angrily declared: "Never in the history of wars among civilized nations was there a greater piece of injustice committed, and the United States government deserves for it imprecations of all who have a sense of justice remaining among them." He urged "the government to repair if possible the wrong thus done." In his opinion, "Lower California must at some time inevitably be a territory of the United States," and he recommended immediate negotiations to purchase it. But such was not the case. Baja California would remain Mexican, even in the face of subsequent filibuster attempts to produce "a second Texas affair."²⁵

On August 6, military governor of California Richard B. Mason received official dispatches "that the war with Mexico was at an end." He rapidly initiated steps to discharge the regiment of New York Volunteers, whose enlistments were for the duration of hostilities. The following day, orders were issued for the Baja California troops to return to Upper



An early drawing of Monterey, looking east, as it would have appeared in the 1840s when Buffum arrived there en route to Los Angeles, where luck and good timing prevented him from standing trial on charges of cardplaying for money. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Collection, University of Southern California.*

California, where they would be officially discharged from military service.²⁶

Ironically, Buffum did not actually participate in the final phase of the American campaign against Mexican forces in Baja California. During the final weeks of the war, he had been charged with "Conduct highly subversive of good order and Military discipline." The charges leveled against him were specific: on or before the evening of December 25, 1847, he had played cards for money with "men belonging to Companies A & B" in the barracks at

La Paz, contrary to army regulations. Further, he had played "at Cards for money with two black servants, employed by the Officers mess at La Paz." To compound his offense, when the officer of the day, Second Lieutenant Charles B. Young, ordered him "to desist from playing at cards with the men," Buffum went to the room of one of the sergeants of Company A and resumed playing cards for money with the enlisted men as well as with one of the black servants, which was labeled "an example of insubordination."²⁷ As a result, he was placed under arrest

on December 28, with formal charges filed against him. Under escort, accompanied by Second Lieutenant George Lemon, who was under like charges, Buffum was sent shortly after to Monterey on the U.S.S. *Southampton*, arriving there on June 13, 1848, after a protracted voyage via Honolulu.²⁸

Two days after his arrival in Monterey, Buffum wrote a pointed letter to Lieutenant William T. Sherman, acting assistant adjutant general in California. It read in part:

I have this morning, although I have been under arrest nearly six months, received a copy of the Charge and Specification preferred against me. I left La Paz in December last, and from that time until I received my charge this morning I have never had the slightest intimation from any one in authority, the nature of the charge under which I expect to be tried. No opportunity was given me to procure evidence in my favor, and even that sorry privilege which our Law accords to the blackest criminal of the attempt to prove himself innocent, was denied me.

In his view, the names of the witnesses made it appear that the evidence was all on one side. Buffum denied outright any dereliction of duty and unequivocally denied two of the specifications, especially the last one "as entirely false and moreover am able to bring substantial evidence to impeach the character of Lieutenant C. B. Young as a man unworthy of belief."

Buffum asked Sherman if he "should be subjected to a trial upon charges that involve my character as an Officer and a Gentleman and deeply concern my best interests as a man without an opportunity of an attempt to disprove them, which I pledge myself to do." He requested a delay, however, "until such time [as] I shall be able to procure evidence from La Paz in substantiation of the statements I have made." He signed the letter "In behalf of Lieut. G. E. Lemon and myself."²⁹

The next day, June 16, Buffum and Lemon received orders to proceed forthwith to Los Angeles, where they were to be posted to Companies E and G of the New York Volunteers.³⁰ They reached their new assignments on July 5. Lieutenant John M. Hollingsworth, who had long been stationed in Los Angeles, confided to his diary the next day:

Two officers arrived here from Monterey placed under arrest for gambling with soldiers—Col Mason

thought it best to release them and send them to this post to report to Col S[hannon] for duty—until the proper witnesses arrived from La Paz . . . they are worthless fellows.³¹

Buffum and his cohort in crime lucked out, however. They did not have to face a court-martial. When Colonel Mason, commanding officer and military governor of California, received news on August 6 of the definitive ratification of the peace treaty with Mexico, he ordered the discharge of all New York Volunteers on August 21. He concluded in a letter to the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, referring to Buffum and Lemon, that "they too must be mustered out of service with their companies without trial." By mid-September, Buffum once again became a civilian.³²

Already keenly aware of the gold rush to the Sierra Nevada foothills sparked by the startling discovery by James W. Marshall on the North Fork of the American River at Coloma on January 24, 1848, Buffum—with his severance pay in his pocket—headed for the mines like most of the ex-volunteers. On October 18, he reached San Francisco, his land journey taking a month. After procuring supplies and clothing, he was "in readiness to start for the *placers*." He began his gold-mining odyssey on October 25, 1848.³³ It is at this point that E. Gould Buffum's *Six Months in the Gold Mines* begins.

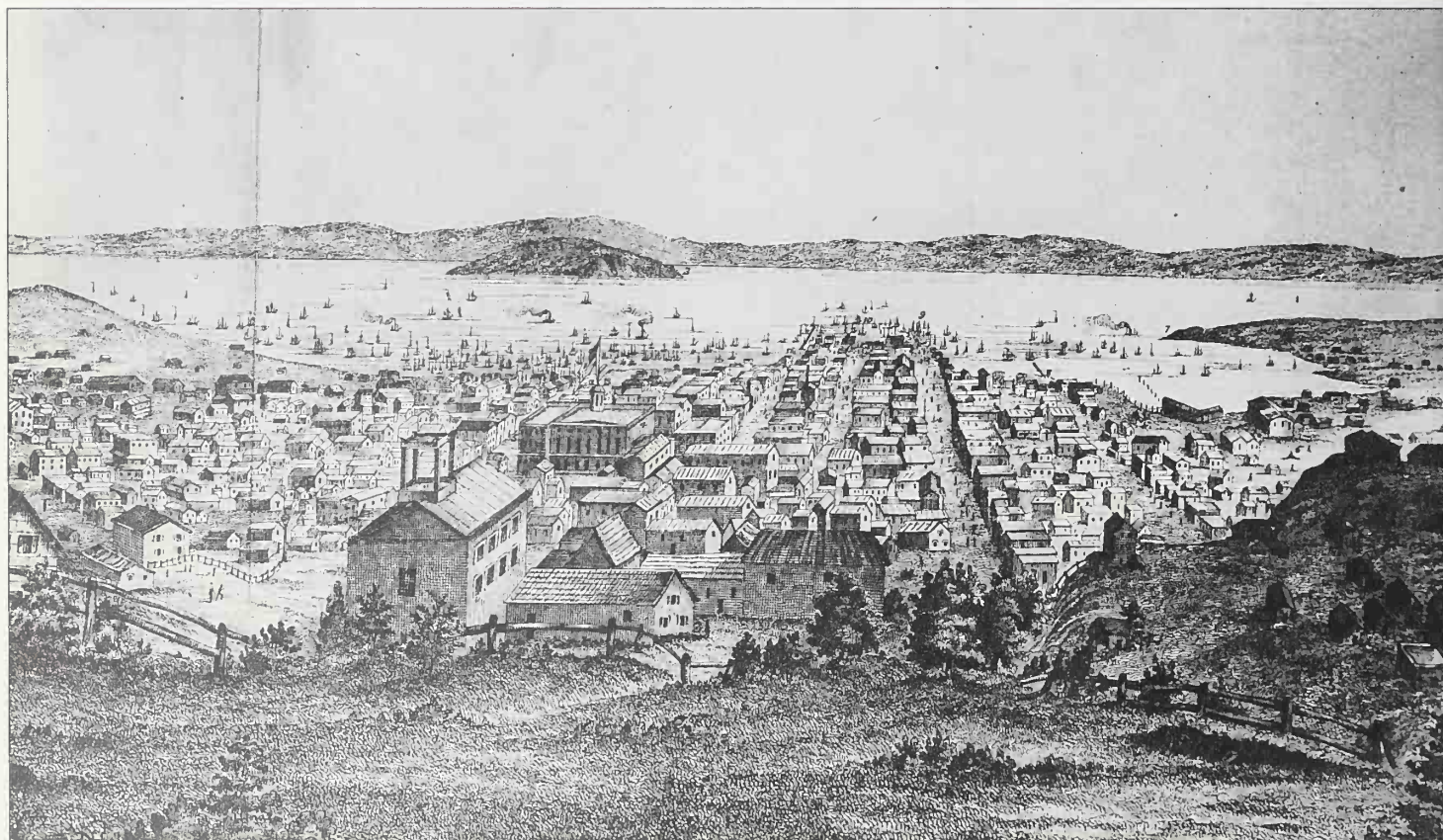
As the title suggests, Buffum only spent six months as an active goldseeker. He mined from the Bear to the Yuba rivers, followed by a long stay at Weber's Creek at a site later named Webeville after the initial discoverer, Charles M. Weber, founder of the city of Stockton. Then he moved on to the Middle Fork of the American River, followed by a move to the South Fork. While mining there, he witnessed mining camp justice at Dry Diggings. Five foreign miners were accused of trying to rob a Mexican gambler. Local miners in assembly tried them *en masse*, serving as both judge and jury. All five were given a sound whipping. Then, three of the unfortunates were tried for an alleged murder and robbery. None of the accused could speak or understand English, and there was no one present who could translate. So blind justice pronounced the sentence: hang them, even though the evidence was at best circumstantial. What Buffum found even more repug-

nant was the fact that the accused had been so badly whipped they could not appear at their public trial, so they were actually tried *in absentia*. His Quaker childhood and youth stirred his social conscience. He mounted a stump to plead with the popular tribunal to reconsider their verdict and stay the execution. But the wrought-up miners were in no mood to be dissuaded. Buffum's plea fell on deaf ears; he was shouted down by the mob. The death of the hapless accused left an indelible mark: Dry Diggings was renamed Hangtown (subsequently Placerville).³⁴

Buffum ended his stay in the mines on a rather sour note. Like so many other miners, the long cold

winter had deprived him of access to fresh vegetables and greens. As a result, he fell victim to land scurvy in February 1849, symptoms of which he carefully described: "swelling and bleeding of the gums . . . followed by a swelling of both legs below the knees" that rendered him unable to walk. Happily, he diagnosed his own condition and sought the proper treatment, vegetables and vegetable acids. With an infusion of fresh beans and potatoes, his recovery was swift and complete. With health renewed, he decided to push on to Sacramento, where he took boat passage for San Francisco.

After a five-day trip down the Sacramento River



Discharged from the military, Buffum passed through San Francisco, above, on his way to the mines, where he spent the winter of 1848–49. *Editorial office collection*. In April 1849 Buffum returned to the city, traveling by water from Sacramento, shown at right in an 1849 lithograph. *Courtesy California State Library*.

and across San Francisco Bay, Buffum returned to the bustling city in early April 1849. He wrote that he had "left the middle fork of the Sacramento about three weeks [before] . . . being unable to labor there to advantage at present, owing to the great height of water." The flooding was due to "the warm spring weather melting the snow in the mountains," something the miners had not previously experienced.³⁵ Since it would take six weeks or more for the flood-tide to recede, Buffum decided to leave the mines and resume city life. On June 20, 1849, the New York *Herald* published his first dispatch from San Francisco.

Buffum commenced his account in this way:

For the past six months my pen, which in times past I used for the purpose of scribbling to you, has been exchanged for the pickaxe, and my mind has been intent on gathering that "yellow mica" which is creating such an excitement with the people of the United States. My home has been among the snow-

clad hills in the region of the Sierra Nevada; my companions for weeks—with the exception of my own party—the savages, whose adobes are there, and the bears and wolves who roam those hills.

Under these circumstances, it has been impossible for me to communicate to you a word upon the matter which is at present most absorbing, with such deep interest, the minds of the whole world, and I gladly embrace the first opportunity to resume my pen, and intend hereafter to keep you fully and correctly informed upon all matters in California.

He was as good as his word. After recounting his "Trip to the Gold Region"—a harbinger of the book he would shortly begin writing, he published an additional dispatch on the same date under the byline, "Our California Correspondent," entitled "Important California News."³⁶ Many other articles were sent east during the next several years.

Shortly after returning to San Francisco, Buffum



was offered a job as city reporter for the San Francisco *Alta California*, "the Mother of [California] Newspapers." The paper had been founded on January 4, 1849, by Edward Gilbert, Edward C. Kemble, and George C. Hubbard, "all practical printers, and natives of one district in Northern New York State." Gilbert and Hubbard had also served in Stevenson's regiment. The two previous city newspapers had folded with the initial Gold Rush, and the *Alta* filled that void.³⁷

While working for the *Alta*, in his spare time Buffum set about writing an account of his three years in California, with major emphasis on his gold-rush experiences. He tells us in his "Introduction," that he wrote his book

... *currente calamo* [Latin for off-hand, in haste], in moments stolen from the cares of business, within sound of the click of hammers, the grating of saws, and all the noise, bustle, excitement, speculation, and confusion of San Francisco. . . . Under these circumstances, no particular regard has been paid to style.³⁸

His haste did result in some inadvertent errors.

The manuscript was completed on January 1, 1850, for that date is inscribed at the end of his "Introduction." Before it was sent east to the publisher, he prepared an effusive dedication to John Charles Frémont, "the United States Senator First Chosen to Represent the State of California," perhaps in celebration of the fact that by the end of 1849 California had moved from military rule to statehood. Buffum also had had a hand in that struggle for California self rule and statehood.

When the original edition appeared in May 1850, opposite the table of contents was placed a "Publisher's Notice," which read:

The pages of this work, in consequence of public interest in all that appertains to California, have been hurried through the press, without the revision expected by the author; there may be, therefore, some slight errors detected through the pages. The writer of the work, formerly connected intimately with the New York press, has been a resident and explorer of California more than three years, and still remains there. The proof sheets could not therefore, well be submitted to his revision.

In addition to his primary account that details the early history of the Gold Rush, Buffum also included



Hubert Howe Bancroft, publisher, historian, and book collector, praised Buffum's *Six Months in the Gold Mines* in his own remarkable, seven-volume *History of California*. Courtesy California State Library.

three chapters at the end of the book (Chapters XIII-XV) on "The Old Towns of California," "The New Towns of California," and "Lower California," which included a description of its "conquest" during the late war. The book was first critically acclaimed by no less a person than Hubert H. Bancroft, California's premier historian, who was unsparing in his praise for it:

It was published while the author remained in California, and constitutes one of the most important printed contributions of the history of California, no less by reason of the scarcity of material concerning the period it covers, 1848-9, than on account of the ability of the author. For he was an educated man, remarkably free from prejudice, a close observer, and possessing sound judgment. He is careful in his statements, conscientious, not given to exaggeration, and his words and ways are such as inspire confidence. . . . The style is pleasant—

simple, terse, strong, yet graceful, and with no egoism or affectations.³⁹

As he labored on his book manuscript, Buffum was deeply involved with the popular movement to rid California of military rule and to establish civilian government. In this, he reflected the views of his newspaper, the *Alta*. Its founding had been opportune. Immediately, according to *Alta* editor and newspaper historian Edward C. Kemble, the paper

entered earnestly into the work of forming a Provincial Government, and as zealously into the reform of municipal matters in San Francisco. The stand taken by the paper against the high-handed acts of the military authorities and the town officers appointed and sustained [by them] . . . was warmly seconded by the people, and it would be difficult to conceive of closer knit sympathies between the public and a newspaper than those enjoyed by the *Alta California* in 1849. It was emphatically the people's organ.⁴⁰

Buffum's Quaker roots served him well in reporting the unfolding struggle for self-determination and popular rule that are graphically chronicled in Chapter IX of *Six Months in the Gold Mines*.⁴¹ He also carefully articulated the arguments for civilian government in a moving letter to the *New York Herald* of June 20, 1849. His most telling point was actually a prophecy:

When at the next session of Congress, two Senators and a fair number of Representatives shall knock at the door of the Capitol, and demand admittance in the name of God and the people of California, and, with the constitution of a great and mighty State in their hands, shall ask admission into the Union, you will see of what stuff we Californians are made. . . .

To make sure the East got the full story, Buffum also enclosed copies of two proclamations issued by the military governor, General Bennet Riley, which spelled out his views on military rule as opposed to civil government. He also sent a copy of the San Francisco town meeting protest response to them. He ended his dispatch with the news that "John C. Fremont, Esq., arrived here about a week ago since, in good health and spirits."⁴² One might add, just in the nick of time to be available for election as one of California's first two United States senators.

Like the proprietors of the *Alta*, Buffum entered the political fray with both his pen and person. No doubt because of his association with the newspaper, shortly after his employment on it on May 11, 1849, he was elected to the enlarged San Francisco Legislative Assembly, a rump municipal council established by popular demand on the part of the city's citizens. Also elected at the same time was William A. Buffum, Edward's older brother, who had only recently arrived by ship. William probably was elected because he rode on his brother's coattails. Later, the San Francisco Legislative Assembly acted as the transitional body from military rule to established municipal government when it was officially formed in April 1850 under a statute enacted by the state legislature.

How two men, who had been residents of San Francisco for such a short time, could be so quickly elected to public office is easy to understand in the context of 1849. Bayard Taylor (1825–1878), another journalist who followed in Buffum's footsteps, published an account of his early gold-rush experiences, entitled *Eldorado*, in late 1850. In his book he supplies a telling anecdote that describes early gold-rush politics:

The choosing of candidates from lists, nearly all of whom were entirely unknown, was very amusing, names in many instances, were made to stand for principles; accordingly a Mr. Fair got many votes. One of the candidates, who had been on the river a few days previous wearing a high crowned silk hat, with narrow brim, lost about twenty votes on that account. Some went no further than to vote for those whom they actually knew. One who took the opposite extreme, justified himself in this wise: "When I left home, I was determined to go it blind. I went it blind in coming to California, and I'm not going to stop now. I voted for the constitution and I've never seen the constitution. I voted for all the candidates and I don't know a damned one of them."⁴³

The election of the Buffum brothers reflected that prevailing voter attitude.

At the same time that he served on the city's interim assembly, Buffum continued to be an activist on behalf of statehood on the local scene. When a mass meeting was held in Portsmouth Square on June 12, 1849, in response to General Riley's proclamation setting a date for election of delegates to a

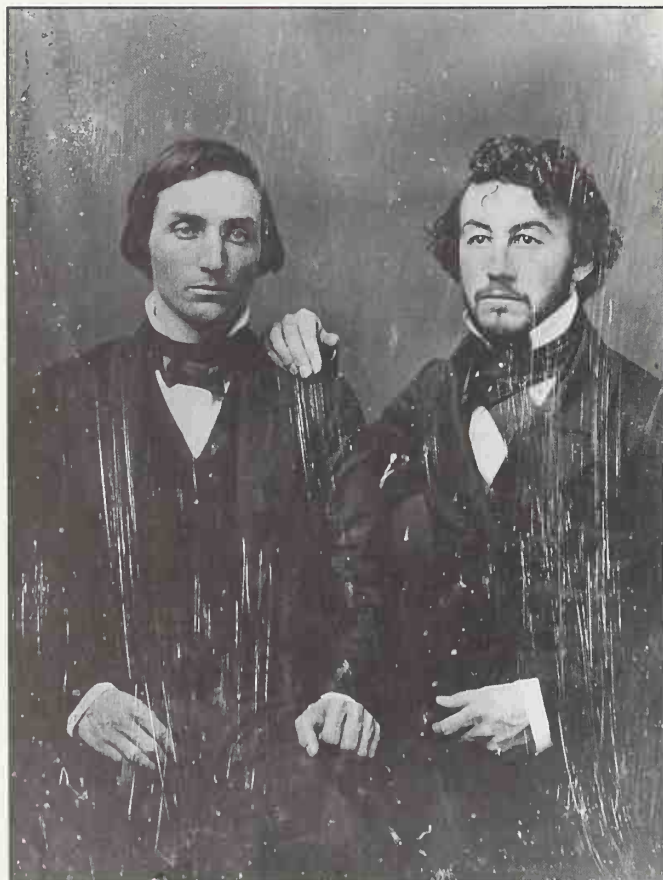
planned convention to deal with the question of California's governance, Buffum was one of the secretaries chosen to record the proceedings. In turn, he was appointed a member of a five-man committee to determine the number of delegates to the Monterey convention and the election date for the San Francisco District.⁴⁴

With the success of efforts to have self-rule realized in the adoption and ratification of a state constitution on November 11, 1849, and the effective implementation of that document by December 22, Buffum retired from active politics. However, he continued on the *Alta* staff, which was headquartered at 230 Clay Street on the second floor.⁴⁵

During the latter months of 1850 and the early months of 1851, the *Alta* was engaged in negotiations to start a newspaper in Los Angeles. When the proposed partners failed to obtain a press and needed

equipment, the expansion effort failed. E. Gould Buffum, in partnership with John A. Lewis, seized the opportunity in the spring of 1851 and announced they would launch the *Los Angeles Star and Southern Pioneer*. But for unknown reasons, when the paper was formally founded on May 17, 1851, Buffum did not join the undertaking. Instead, his place was taken by John McElroy.⁴⁶

In the fall of 1852, Edward Kemble, then the sole editor/publisher of the *Alta*, due to the death of his only near relative in Europe, took a year's leave from the paper to travel there and settle family affairs. During his absence, Buffum served as the paper's editor for a short time, sharing that appointment with three others.⁴⁷ When Kemble returned in 1853, Buffum decided in August, for reasons unknown, to return to the East, mayhap with his brother, to visit his family. Exactly when Buffum returned to San



Edward C. Gilbert, left, and Edward C. Kemble, right, joint owners and editors of the *Alta California*, San Francisco's first daily newspaper. Courtesy California State Library.

San Francisco is unclear. It is safe to assume that it was in early 1854, for that fall he stood for election to the state legislature, seeking a seat in the Assembly from San Francisco. He ran on the American, or Know-Nothing, Party ticket.

The American Party had a meteoric, though short-lived, career. Founded in New York in 1849 as a secret patriotic organization (the original name being the Order of the Star Spangled Banner), it began to expand by 1852 and two years later was a national organization. It attracted members by imitating the Order of Free Masons; it was, in fact, a secret quasi-fraternal organization. Its members were sworn to secrecy at their initiation, promising never to reveal the organization's mysteries. When questioned about it, members replied, "I know nothing about it"—thus the popular name, Know-Nothing Party. Each member had to swear to uphold the party's three objectives: to cast their ballots only for native-born candidates for all public offices; to work for a twenty-one-year probationary period before any foreign-born could be naturalized, and to combat the growing influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

In looking back on the decade of the 1850s, it is amazing to realize how popular the American Party became. It capitalized on the nationwide hostility toward immigrants, as well as anti-Catholic sentiment, which was rampant, fomented by various churches, fraternal societies, and unscrupulous members of the press. But the party found its Waterloo over the issue of slavery, which by 1856 brought about the party's swift demise.⁴⁸

The Know-Nothing Party had special appeal in California because of the long-seeded anti-foreignism that dated back to the early Gold Rush, as well as the growing anti-Chinese movement in the state. As a result, in the 1854 election, a number of party members were elected to office, among them E. Gould Buffum, who took his seat in the Sixth Legislature when it convened in 1855.⁴⁹ At this time, under the 1849 California state constitution, members of the Assembly were elected to a one-year term, the state Senate and executive branch to a two-year term.

During his one-year term, Buffum, joined by William B. Farwell as co-editor, established the *San Francisco Daily Citizen* as an organ of the Know-Nothing Party. The paper commenced publication

on May 25 and continued to appear until October 10, 1855, when it was transferred to Sacramento.⁵⁰ It was at this point that Buffum rejoined the *Alta*. This also marked the end of his active career in politics, though he took delight, no doubt, in the triumph of J. Neely Johnson, a fellow party member, who was elected to the governorship in 1855.⁵¹

Perhaps to celebrate his election to the state Assembly in the November 1854 election, the San Francisco Press Club sponsored a testimonial banquet in Buffum's honor at the Cafe de l'Orient on Washington Street on Saturday, December 30, 1854. It proved an "elegant entertainment" for some twenty guests who "set down to an excellent dinner,



In 1856 John Neely Johnson, a Sacramento lawyer, became California's fourth governor. Elected on the Know-Nothing ticket, he served a single term. *Courtesy California State Library.*

not the least satisfactory feature of which was the magnificent style in which it was served up." The reporter rhapsodized in his account of the affair:

Alas! I must leave undescribed the gibier,
The salmi, the consommés, the puree,
And fruits, and ice, and all that art refines
From nature for the service of the gout.
The glasses jingled, and the palates tingled;
The diners of celebrity dined well.⁵²

Numerous toasts and speeches were offered: "When the clatter of knives and forks had somewhat subsided, and the sparkling juice of the generous grape had commenced to circulate, many were the *bon-mots* and witty repartees heard from those assembled around the festive board." The first speech was given by the honored guest. "His remarks were made in a very feeling and emphatic style, and listened to with profound attention, and at their conclusion were received with a deafening round of applause." At the end of the dinner, Buffum volunteered a toast: "The Public Administrator of San Francisco—In him the trust of the widows and orphans is safely resposed." The final toast was to "Our 'Gould'—A human 'specimen' alloyed with the 'silver' of honesty and the 'iron' of resolution; a conglomerate of rare character in *Alta California*, and not easily manufactured into those links which fetters freedom by even the most cunning workers in political inquiry." When at a late hour the party separated, "each was well satisfied with the share he had taken in the festive scene."⁵³

There was some prophecy in one of the toasts offered at this testimonial dinner. It was the opening one: "Our Guest, the Hon. E. Gould Buffum—His precedents from his connection with the Press are indicative of his future usefulness and fame." The latter seemed to come true when Buffum was appointed editor of the *Alta* in April 1856. During his tenure as editor he oversaw the extensive coverage given to the 1856 San Francisco Vigilance Committee. The *Alta California* is one of the best sources documenting that volatile period in the city's history. He served ably as editor of that important newspaper until early November 1857, when his former editorial colleague on the shortlived *Daily Citizen*, William B. Farwell, succeeded him.⁵⁴ By 1857 the paper's ownership

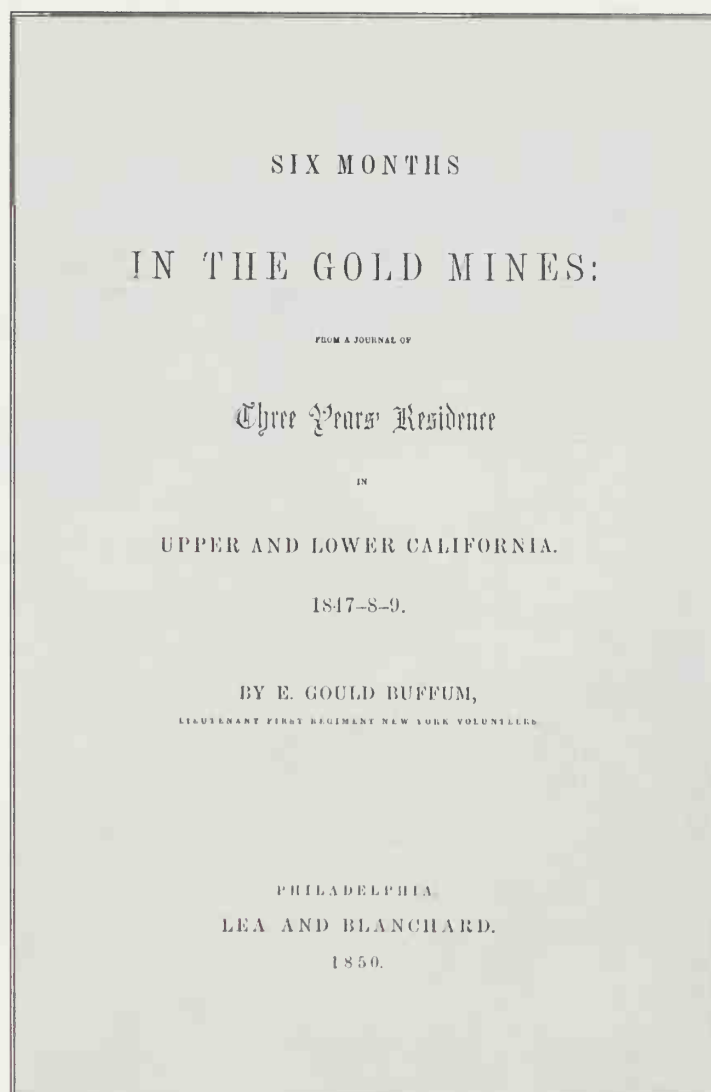
had changed a number of times, and it faced increasing competition from rivals that were proliferating yearly. Perhaps for these reasons, E. Gould Buffum resigned and decided to return to the East. The *Alta* reported that on the morning of November 5, 1857, he embarked on the *Golden Gate* "to make a visit to the Atlantic States. . . . He leaves a host of friends, and carries with him our best wishes for his success."⁵⁵

It is at this point that the account of Buffum's remaining years becomes nearly blank. One is left to conjecture until some enterprising biographer plows through surviving records to trail his activities. It can be hypothesized that on reaching New York City he approached the *Herald* for a job, for in early 1858 the paper sent him to Paris, France, as an overseas correspondent. This would further imply that he was at least somewhat fluent in French. He must have been, to qualify for such an appointment. In one of his California by lines for the *Herald*, he signed off with the salutation, "So—Au revoir!"⁵⁶

On assuming his duties in Paris, he regularly sent copy to the *Herald* and occasionally to the *Alta California*. In the ensuing ten years, in addition to his dispatches, E. Gould Buffum authored a number of articles, mostly descriptive, and two books based on his European travels: *A Pocket Guide for Americans Going to Europe* (1859) and *Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland: Or, Experience of an American Journalist in Europe* (1869), published posthumously. But the 1854 prophecy of his "future usefulness and fame" eluded him.

At the age of forty-five, on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1867, Buffum died in Paris. The New York *Herald* carried this brief notice: "Mr. E. Gould Buffum an old American journalist, died very suddenly here after taking an anodyne [pain reliever] . . . at the time of his death [he] was the Paris correspondent of the New York *Herald*."⁵⁷ During the nineteenth century, the anodyne laudanum, a liquid concoction containing opium, was widely used to relieve pain. Addiction to narcotics was not fully understood in the nineteenth century; it may well be that Buffum had unwittingly become a drug addict. Since there is no inference that he was ill and under medical care, it would appear that, whether intentional or unintentional, he took an overdose of

The title page from *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, taken from a 1966 facsimile edition published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor. Courtesy Editorial Staff.



laudanum. However, that he took a potentially lethal anodyne on Christmas Eve might suggest he committed suicide.

The San Francisco *Golden Era* recorded his death in a more direct and poignant, but short, obituary:

E. Gould Buffum, many years connected with the California press, ex-lieutenant of Stevenson's pioneer regiment, good fellow and thriftless, committed suicide in Paris a week ago last Thursday. He has been a resident abroad some ten years, corresponding meanwhile with local and Eastern news papers. The sea of trouble swamps a worthy craft.⁵⁸

Similar memorial tributes appeared in the two leading San Francisco papers, the *Alta California* and the *Bulletin*, the latter publishing verbatim the notice that appeared in the former. The tribute closed with these words: "He was a fluent and graceful writer, a genial companion, and a man of extensive and varied information. His age was about 45 years, and when he left San Francisco was unmarried."⁵⁹ Bancroft hailed him as "a man of good character and abilities."⁶⁰

Unlike gold-discoverer James Wilson Marshall, E. Gould Buffum's only monument is his book, *Six Months in the Gold Mines*. But like Marshall's statue at Coloma, it, too, endures as an important part of the historical legacy of the California Gold Rush.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 170.

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Patterns of Toleration and Discrimination in San Francisco

The Civil War to World War I

by Robert W. Cherny

Over the past few decades, San Francisco has acquired an international renown as a tolerant city that houses large, prominent, and politically potent communities of ethnics, gays, and lesbians. Some authors have also observed that the city was like this historically. Robert Burchell, in his study of the San Francisco Irish, for example, states that, in the late nineteenth century, "a significant and important section of the Catholic community believed that relations between the various religious groups were not only peaceful but aided the advance of Catholicism."¹ One other study, of turn-of-the-century "sailortowns," suggested that vice operations were so tolerated in San Francisco that they reached limits "unknown to any other port in the world."² Earl Raab, writing in 1950, noted the city's "startling poverty of anti-Semitic tradition" and concluded that "San Francisco, for cities of its size, is the nation's 'white spot' of anti-Jewish prejudice."³ In 1970, before

the city's modern ethnic and gay and lesbian subcultures began to attract such national attention, Howard S. Becker and Irving Louis Horowitz, sociologists, focused on the city's counter-culture groups—hippies and beatniks—and concluded that the city exhibited a "culture of civility" that made it "a natural experiment in the consequences of tolerating deviance."⁴

Despite such a reputation for tolerance, however, San Francisco is also well-known for its hostility toward the Chinese in the late nineteenth century and toward Japanese in the early twentieth century and for its persecution of radicals in the early twentieth century. Such apparent contradictions cast some doubt on the validity of the city's supposed acceptance of ethnic, political, and sexual subgroups. An examination of discrimination and toleration in San Francisco during the years from the end of Civil War to the coming of World War I can establish more precisely the city's patterns of discrimination and toleration during its formative years and can suggest some parameters and causes of the city's "culture of civility" as of the early twentieth century.

Although good will generally prevailed among San Francisco's European immigrant groups, such was not the experience of racial minorities. Throughout the late nineteenth century, San Francisco was home to the largest Chinese community in the United States, numbering 12,000 in 1870, 22,000 in 1880, 26,000 in 1890, and 14,000 in 1900.⁵ The experience of the Chinese provides vivid illustration that the city's civility and tolerance did not extend beyond the color line. In addition to being the perennial scapegoats for politicians wooing working-class votes, the Chinese were segregated in their residence,

At left: Gold-rush San Francisco was often described at the time as a melting pot of peoples and cultures unique in the American experience. In his drawing, "Bar-Room in California," English travel writer and artist Frank Marryat captured the relaxed relationships among diverse immigrants that the city became famous for. Its legendary good will notwithstanding, San Francisco also experienced a contradictory tradition of intergroup tension and hostility toward ethnic, political, and social minorities. The limits to San Francisco's tolerance is the subject of this article. *From Frank Marryat, Mountains and Molehills (1855). Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*



Although few in number, children began to be born to San Francisco's Chinese families in the late nineteenth century. Despite their innocence and their status as American citizens by birth, Chinese American children suffered from the same discrimination that limited opportunities for their parents. Although they were at first barred from the public schools, a segregated elementary school was finally built for them in the 1880s. This photograph, taken at the corner of Dupont and Jackson streets, is part of an important set of photographs made by Arnold Genthe to document San Francisco's Chinatown, ca. 1900. *Editorial office collection.*

occupations, and schooling. Chinese could reside outside the half-dozen city blocks of Chinatown only if they lived in laundries or as live-in servants. For the Chinese, going outside Chinatown could be dangerous, for they ran the risk of being attacked by "hoodlums"; many Chinese wore police whistles on strings around their necks, so they could summon police assistance if they were set upon by ruffians. Law and official action also proscribed the freedom of the Chinese. Those born in China were prohibited by federal statute from becoming citizens. Most Chinese women were routinely turned away by immigration authorities hoping to prevent establishment of families and the birth of an American-born generation, while miscegenation laws prohibited whites

and Chinese from marrying. Limits were also placed on Chinese rights in the courts. Chinese children were banned from the public schools from the 1850s onward, but an elementary school was built in Chinatown for them in 1885, when the city faced the likelihood of a court order requiring that some school facilities be made available. School segregation did not begin to break down until about the time of World War I.⁶

In the late nineteenth century, some occupations were predominantly Chinese, notably laundry workers, textile and garment factory operatives, garment workers, cigar and tobacco workers, fishermen, peddlers, and household servants. By 1900, strong Caucasian-dominated labor unions, their

membership limited to whites, barred Chinese from a number of occupations, notably the building and metal trades. Typical wages paid to Chinese workers were significantly less than those paid to comparable white workers.⁷

Withal, the situation of the Chinese of San Francisco during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was similar in many ways to that of African Americans in the South. Both were barred from many forms of economic activity, both were prohibited from meaningful political participation, both faced a range of restrictions on their social interaction with whites, and both were targets for random violence. The small number of African Americans in San Francisco during this period did not encounter quite the full range of segregation, discrimination, and violence imposed upon the Chinese. There was, for example, no separate school, nor was there rigid residential segregation. But African Americans, like Chinese, found economic opportunities only within narrowly defined channels.⁸

If San Francisco's treatment of racial minorities provides no evidence of tolerance, the city's record for treatment of political minorities is little more positive. In 1877, Denis Kearney gained a large following for his Workingmen's Party by his intemperate opposition to the city's great capitalists and to the Chinese. The mayor directed the police to break up public meetings of the party, and Kearney and other party leaders were arrested, some repeatedly, for the incendiary nature of their political speeches.⁹ By and large, however, other radicals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were tolerated, but none gained the mass following that Kearney had attracted, and hence none seemed to pose a threat to the established order. In 1916, a bomb exploded during a parade devoted to promoting preparation for war, and the city's law enforcement agencies rounded up a group of local radicals. Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were convicted on the testimony of witnesses later implicated of perjury; nonetheless, they languished in prison for twenty years after the key testimony against them was found to be unreliable.¹⁰ In 1934, when the city was in the midst of a coast-wide strike by maritime unions that led to a four-day general strike, police raided the offices of radical groups, where they arrested nearly a hundred people and charged them with vagrancy. Tolerated, if not encouraged, by police and civil authorities, vigilante groups later attacked radicals and wrecked their headquarters and meeting places. Police appeared soon after the vigilantes' departure and arrested two hundred more radicals. A few

months later, the city's police chief, William Quinn, stated unequivocally that "this Department is doing everything possible to suppress radicalism."¹¹

If San Francisco exhibited little civility or tolerance toward racial or radical minorities, a somewhat different record appears with regard to eccentrics, vice operations, groups whose gender identities set them apart from the mainstream, and religious groups who frequently encountered discrimination elsewhere in the nation. Each may be considered briefly.

Samuel Walker, writing in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875, claimed that "San Francisco has rather more than her share of eccentric characters." Indeed, late-nineteenth-century San Francisco not only accepted its eccentrics, it actually seemed to delight in them. "Emperor" Norton was unquestionably the best known and most tolerated. Once a successful merchant, Joshua Norton suffered reverses and apparently lost his mental stability along with his bank account. He proclaimed himself "Norton I, Emperor of North America and Protector of Mexico." For years San Franciscans indulged this fantasy, provided him with an extravagant uniform, addressed him as "Emperor Norton," and kept him in pocket money and necessities. Norton may have provided inspiration to Frederick Coombs, a phrenologist, who dressed in colonial garb and a powered wig and walked about the streets with a banner identifying himself as "Washington the Second." Another eccentric named "Crisis" was described by Samuel Walker as "a sort of American howling dervish with a religious twist in his brain, who holds forth on street corners, warning sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and predicting the speedy collapse of this wicked world of ours." One Abe Warner presided over the Cobweb Palace, a waterfront saloon that became famous for the profusion of dusty spider webs that came to shroud much of the interior, including rows of cages containing monkeys and parrots Warner had purchased from sailors. Lillie Hitchcock Coit, a wealthy heiress, was so infatuated with firemen that she followed them to every fire and eventually left the city a large sum of money to build a monument to them.¹² Such oddities may have contributed to the city's reputation for tolerance, but San Franciscans were clearly more tolerant of a handful of bizarre individuals than of large numbers of people who were different because of their race or political views. Most cities, in fact, could point to some beloved quaint character; such oddities tell very little about patterns of toleration or discrimination affecting significant portions of the community.

Some nineteenth-century San Franciscans seemed



Lillie Hitchcock Coit (1843–1929) immigrated to San Francisco in 1851, when she was still a child. Perhaps protected by her wealth from public censure, Lillie became one of the city's many notorious, but beloved, eccentrics. Lillie particularly distinguished herself by being a Confederate sympathizer during the Civil War, by frequently dressing like a man, and by developing an all-consuming fixation on firefighting and firemen. An honorary member of one of the city's volunteer fire companies, Lillie willed \$100,000 to San Francisco for the purpose of building a memorial to the city's firemen. Coit Tower, completed on Telegraph Hill in 1933, became a major landmark, testimonial not only to the city's firefighters, but also to its tradition of tolerance. *Courtesy California State Library.*

almost to take a perverse pride in the brothels, dance halls, gin mills, and gambling dens of the Barbary Coast. Fo'c'sles around the world rang with stories of San Francisco and its delights, and every deep-water sailor of the nineteenth century vowed to get to the city at least once to sample its storied pleasures.¹³ Given the city's large population of single men, the presence of such a large vice district is not unusual. At the time of the 1890 census, San Francisco included 124,000 males over the age of ten, of whom 57 percent (71,000) were unmarried. That year, census-takers counted more than 3,000 sailors who called the city their home port, giving San Francisco more sailors than any other American city, surpassing even New York, many times its size.¹⁴ Other single males, in addition to sailors, frequented San Francisco, although their numbers are difficult to gauge because they were least likely to be found at the time of the decennial censuses. The seasonal nature of employment in California agriculture, mining, and lumbering produced as many as forty thousand unemployed single men who spent their winters in the ten- and fifteen-cent lodging houses and cheap hotels near the waterfront and south of Market Street.¹⁵

Given the nature of the western economy that demanded large numbers of seasonal laborers and given the nature of Pacific Coast transportation that required a fleet of coastal schooners, it is almost inevitable that San Franciscans tolerated a large vice district, catering in part to the many single men who marched in the army of migratory laborers and sailed in the coastal navy. Closing the Barbary Coast, as some moral reformers periodically demanded, would do more than eliminate what was seen alternatively as a blot on the city's honor and a major tourist attraction. More seriously for middle-class and upper-class San Franciscans, closing the Barbary Coast might also divert thousands of rowdy sailors, lumberjacks, and miners into the places of entertainment frequented by the city's more genteel residents. Consequently, occasional efforts to close down the Barbary Coast received little support from either the city's voters or its elected officials until a state law brought the closing of the brothels in 1917.

In many parts of the nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, referenda on prohibition or on the closing of brothels provided a significant measure of ethno-religious conflict over differing definitions of appropriate social behavior. In most places, voting patterns on such referenda correlated closely with partisan political preferences. San Franciscans (both men and women, who

had been enfranchised in 1911) voted on prohibition in the 1914 general election, but the "cold water" reform drew only 17 percent of the vote in favor, varying from a high of 21 percent in a working-class assembly district to a low of 10 percent in the assembly district that included the Barbary Coast. The same year, San Francisco voters also cast their ballots on a measure to close the brothels; 36 percent of the city favored this measure, ranging from a high of 43 percent, again in a working-class district, to a low of 21 percent in the district that included the Barbary Coast. Voting on these two measures shows little significant variation by class or ethnicity, as was typical of eastern cities. If anything, the data suggest that these measures found slightly more support in working-class, Catholic areas of the city than in middle-class and upper-class areas with larger proportions

of Protestants, a reversal of patterns in eastern cities, but the level of support is too low throughout the city to draw meaningful conclusions.¹⁶

Very little evidence exists on the history of gay men and lesbians in San Francisco before World War I,¹⁷ but available information does suggest a connection between the Barbary Coast vice district and gay men and lesbians. Given the high incidence of lesbian relationships among prostitutes, the large number of prostitutes working in the city suggests that there must also have been many lesbian relationships.¹⁸ In the 1870s, one San Francisco woman, Jeanne Bonnet, who always dressed in men's clothes, convinced a group of Barbary Coast prostitutes to give up that life, shun all men, and form a gang that lived off petty crime; one gang member seems to have been Bonnet's lover.¹⁹ Turn-of-the-century accounts mention homo-



"Sunday Evening on Dupont Street," from J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (1873). San Francisco became infamous for tolerating vice, particularly in the dance halls, saloons, and brothels of the Barbary Coast. Simultaneously an attraction to tourists and the city's numerous single men, and a civic disgrace to the city's "better sort," the Barbary Coast was repeatedly a focus of controversy into the early twentieth century. Courtesy California State Library, photo reproduction by Nikki Pahl.



Babe Bean, shown here in a drawing from the *Stockton Evening Mail*, October 9, 1897, was a famous, house-boat-dwelling Stockton eccentric who favored wearing men's clothing because "as a man, I can travel freely, feel protected and find work." In 1898, she disappeared from Stockton and transformed her identity to male. Assuming the name of "Jack Garland," Bean turned up in San Francisco, where for decades she passed for a man and served the city's poor and homeless as a nurse and social worker. When Jack Garland died suddenly in 1936, hospital workers discovered her true gender and identity. From *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, edited by Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., New York, New American Library, 1989.

sexual activity among local men and the many soldiers stationed in the city,²⁰ and one early twentieth-century Barbary Coast dance-hall briefly replaced its women employees with male transvestites.²¹ By the 1930s, at least two gay or lesbian nightclubs operated near the old Barbary Coast district.²² Given the information available, these patterns seem not greatly different from those in other cities with large vice districts or large military posts or naval bases.

If San Franciscans' attitudes toward eccentricity, vice, and same-sex relationships provide little indication of the city's uniqueness, a survey of religious patterns points to more significant differences between San Francisco and major eastern cities. In San Francisco, Catholics and Jews were able to gain entry to the economic, political, and social life of the city on a largely equal basis with Protestants.

For Catholics, San Francisco seems to have been more open than any other large city. At the apex of the city's economic structure—its banks—there was apparently never a time when Irish were told that they "need not apply." In 1870, San Francisco had twenty-seven Irish bankers; at the same time, Philadelphia (much larger in size) had eighteen and Boston (also much larger) had only four.²³ Several of the Irish banks wore their ethnicity like badges of honor, notably the Hibernia Savings and Loan, the largest such institution in the city throughout the late nineteenth century.²⁴ Nor was it possible to mistake the ethnicity of the principals in the Donohue-Kelly Banking Company, but other names, including the First National Gold Bank and the Nevada Bank, provided no clues that Irish Catholics presided over those institutions. The Nevada Bank at one point claimed the largest capitalization west of St. Louis; it was run by Irishmen who had struck it rich in Nevada's Comstock Lode—and in the San Francisco Mining Exchange.²⁵

Jews, too, could be found at the head of some of the city's most prominent financial institutions. I. W. Hellman initially made his mark in banking in southern California, but he came north to take the helm of Wells Fargo Bank and presided over its merger with the Nevada Bank in 1891, and he remained one of the central figures in the city's economy during the early twentieth century. Other leading banks with Jewish leadership included the Anglo-California Bank, the London Paris Bank, and the Bank of Daniel Meyer.²⁶ Catholics and Jews were also found at the head of other major corporations, ranging from the Union Iron Works to the Alaska Commercial Company, from S&W Foods to Fireman's Fund Insurance.²⁷

In politics, as in business, Catholics and Jews experienced a higher degree of success than in any major city to the east. Solomon Heydenfeldt, who was Jewish, won election to the state Supreme Court in 1851.²⁸ David Broderick, son of Irish immigrants and reputed boss of the city's Democrats, became one of the first Irish Catholics in the United States Senate in 1857, and was succeeded by three other Irish-born Catholics before the turn of the century. Boston elected its first Irish Catholic mayor in 1884 and New York City did the same in 1880, but San Francisco long preceded them with the election of Frank McCoppin in 1867.²⁹

In 1895, one San Franciscan claimed that few San Francisco Jews took an active part in politics, noting that Christians will not "readily vote for a Jew, because he is a Jew, and [Jews are] afraid to vote for



The Hibernia Savings and Loan Society, a prominent Irish American bank, in the late nineteenth century. An imposing building such as this and their frequent election to powerful city offices testified to the status and influence of Irish Catholics in early San Francisco. *Courtesy California State Library.*

a Jew, lest he prove dishonest in office and thus bring shame upon his people, who always suffer collectively because of the shortcomings of one."³⁰ Ironically, he was writing in the first major city of the nation to have a Jewish mayor. New York City elected its first Jewish mayor, Abraham Beame, in 1973; San Francisco elected a Jewish mayor, Adolph Sutro, eighty years earlier, in 1894. Further, Washington Bartlett, elected mayor in 1883, was the son of a Jewish mother, although he apparently did not consider himself to be Jewish.³¹ While the election of Jews to significant office set San Francisco apart from eastern cities, such accomplishments were by no means unknown elsewhere west of the Mississippi—witness the Jewish mayors elected in Portland, Seattle, Butte, and other western cities, or the election of Jews to the U.S. Senate in Oregon and Colorado at about the same time, or the election of Jewish governors in Idaho and Utah a few years later.³² In San Francisco, Catholics and Jews were to be found in almost every possible political niche in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from city bosses like Christopher Buckley and Abraham

Ruef to reformers like James Phelan and staunch regular Republicans like Julius Kahn.³³

De Tocqueville observed that the democratic and egalitarian practices of Americans prompted "numerous artificial and arbitrary distinctions . . . by means of which man hopes to keep himself aloof."³⁴ Social organizations in most of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often discriminated in their membership on the basis of religion, with some exclusive eastern clubs refusing to admit Catholics and most of them barring Jews. One aspect of the openness of social organizations in San Francisco may be explored by examining membership lists for clubs that aimed at exclusivity.

Our Society Blue Book, published annually in San Francisco, included membership lists for nearly all of the city's exclusive clubs. None of them, apparently, discriminated against Catholics. The Pacific Union Club, listed first in the *Blue Book* because of its status, included a number of Catholics, most of Irish descent, including James L. Flood (Nevada Bank), John W. Mackay (Nevada Bank), G. W.

McEnerney (attorney), James D. Phelan (former mayor), and Robert J. Tobin (Hibernia Bank). In addition, in 1902, the Pacific Union Club included two Jews: Ignatz Steinhart of the Anglo-California Bank, and Sigismund Steinhart of New York City. The Bohemian Club, listed second in the *Blue Book* and considered second in status in the city, also included many Catholics and more than a dozen Jews, among them members of the Hellman, Peixotto, Sloss, and Weill families, along with J. B. Levison (Fireman's Fund Insurance), Philip N. Lilienthal (Anglo-California Bank), and Ignatz Steinhart. The University Club, ranked fourth in the *Blue Book*, included members of the Haas (Levi Strauss) and Sloss (Alaska Commercial Company) families. The Union League Club, which described itself as "the leading Republican Club on the Pacific Coast," not only included Catholics and Jews as members but also included Jews on its board of directors.³⁵

The 1921 *Blue Book* presents a different picture, however. The Pacific Union Club, still listed first, had added Edward J. Hanna, Catholic archbishop of San Francisco, as an honorary member and still included many members from the city's leading Catholic families, but no Jews appeared on the membership list. Ignatz Steinhart, who had belonged in 1902, was no longer living, and members of his family were not among the club's elect. The University Club, now listed second, continued to include members of the Haas and Sloss families, but no other Jews. The Bohemian Club, ranked third, listed members of the Esberg, Hellman, Levison, Peixotto, Rosenthal, and Sloss families.³⁶ However, the Bohemian Club was, at that time, engaged in a process that the Pacific Union Club had already completed—the gradual elimination of Jews from its membership roster. Raphael Weill (of the White House department store) resigned when his nephew and heir was blackballed; J. B. Levison did not propose his sons when they became eligible, but he maintained his own membership.³⁷

As the city's most prestigious clubs began to ape their eastern counterparts by barring Jews, they were traversing a path also trod by some middle-class social organizations. Historian Tony Fels, who studied Jewish participation in the Masonic order in San Francisco, discovered that every Masonic lodge in the city had at least one Jewish member in the late nineteenth century. But he also noted that at least two lodges appear to have begun restricting access for Jews in the 1890s.³⁸

Just as city clubs began to discriminate against



Temple Emanuel, shown here in a late-nineteenth-century photograph by Carleton E. Watkins, was one of the most prominent places of worship in San Francisco. Arriving in the city in the early days of the Gold Rush, German and French Jews founded some of the city's most influential families. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Jews as similar practices became prominent in the East, so too were San Francisco Catholics most likely to feel the sting of discrimination when anti-Catholicism was prominent elsewhere in the nation. Mary Ann Irwin's forthcoming study of women and reform in the 1850s and 1860s notes that, in the wake of the Know-Nothing agitation in the 1850s, the Ladies' Protection Society separately identified Catholics among applicants for aid until at least 1865 and often referred Catholics to Catholic organizations for assistance; in 1865, they resolved that, "in



Adolph Sutro, shown here in a portrait by famed photographer I. W. Taber, made a fortune building a drainage and ventilation tunnel for the Comstock Lode of western Nevada. Reinvesting his profits in San Francisco real estate, Sutro eventually owned one-twelfth of the property in San Francisco. Elected to office as a reform mayor in 1894, Sutro became one of the most popular of all San Francisco political leaders. *Courtesy California State Library.*

the future no aid shall be given Catholics and none admitted to the Home."³⁹ Ruth Shackelford, in her recent study of the city's child-saving institutions, found anti-Catholicism especially in the late 1880s, when the American Protective Association (APA) was emerging in the East.⁴⁰ In 1894, when the APA was developing its peak strength nationwide, its members in San Francisco announced that they would boycott Catholic businesses and give hiring preference to Protestants.⁴¹

This survey of patterns of toleration and discrimination in San Francisco between the Civil War and World War I suggests that San Francisco was little different from the rest of the nation with respect to race relations, and may have been more racist than some areas; that San Francisco was little different from other major cities in its treatment of political radicals; that, with respect to vice, San Francisco seems little different from other major cities that included large proportions of single men; and that the available evidence on same-sex relationships does not indicate that the city was significantly different from other cities of the period. However, San Francisco does stand out as significantly more tolerant of Catholics and Jews than most cities, albeit with an increase in institutional anti-Semitism after the turn-of-the-century and with periodic outbursts of anti-Catholicism corresponding to similar patterns nationwide.

Given these conclusions, some explanation is needed for the unique aspect of San Francisco's patterns of toleration and discrimination. What most sets the city apart from other large American cities of this period was the situation of Catholics and Jews. In explaining this, many commentators have pointed to the influence of the Gold Rush and the creation of the city virtually overnight. Everyone came at once, according to this argument, and they created a new society that included no long-established families or hereditary social status. Everyone was equal in the gold fields, because what mattered most was success in finding the elusive yellow metal. In fact, this was not true for Chinese or Latinos, who rapidly became the object of discrimination in the gold fields, but it describes reality closely enough for most white males, regardless of national origin or religion. Material success was not limited to those who found gold themselves and, in fact, greater fortunes were often made by those who sold the miners their red shirts and shovels than by those who panned the streams. The Gold Rush and the rapid creation of San Francisco not only created great fortunes for a few, they also exerted a leveling and homogenizing influence on the participants. The mining areas—and San Francisco, their supply center and jumping-off spot—were a hodgepodge of ethnic groups. Individuals often sought out the familiarity of others who shared their own ethnic heritage, but it appears that most also adopted the patterns of dress, language, and manners of old-stock Americans.⁴²

If San Francisco was more open than eastern cities

because it had no established old families, no long-standing mercantile houses, no dominant banks, it was also different from most eastern cities in the ethnic and religious composition of its population. In 1870, when San Francisco was the tenth largest city in the nation, it also claimed the largest proportion of foreign-born residents of any of the fifty largest cities. By 1910, the city still stood well above the mean percentage of foreign-born among major cities, but was passed by more than a dozen northeastern and a few middle-western cities. San Francisco joined New York and Jersey City among the fifty largest cities in having roughly equal proportions of Irish and German immigrants; by contrast, Irish immigrants tended to predominate in the large cities in the northeast, and large cities in the Middle West tended to be German.⁴³ Perhaps most significant, in a comparative perspective, was San Francisco's religious composition. The federal censuses of religious bodies provide some indication of the city's religious composition, but the data in them must be handled very carefully; even so, they provide only a rough indication.⁴⁴ Making adjustments for the differing types of information provided in the censuses suggests these proportions:

For many parts of the nation, it is often reasonable to assume that most of those who were not church

	1890	1906	1916
Catholic	28%	40%	41%
Jewish	8%	2%	2%
Methodist	2%	1%	1%
Presbyterian	1%	1%	1%
Congregational	1%	1%	0.5%
Baptist	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Episcopal	1%	1%	1%
Lutheran	1%	1%	1%
All others	1%	4%	3%
Total church members	43%	51%	52%

members were nominal Protestants, some of whom participated in church activities without being members. For San Francisco, however, census data suggest that well under half the total population were even nominal Protestants.⁴⁵

In many parts of the Middle West in the early 1890s, the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches provided the bulk of the members for the American Protective Association, the anti-Catholic organization that sought to use politics to reduce what it saw as a Catholic threat to the integrity of the nation.⁴⁶ In San Francisco, the census

data suggest that, among actual members of religious organizations, Catholics outnumbered these groups by a proportion of at least five to one, and perhaps even ten to one. Demographic dominance shielded San Francisco Catholics from attack and opened up business and political opportunity rarely found in other United States' cities.

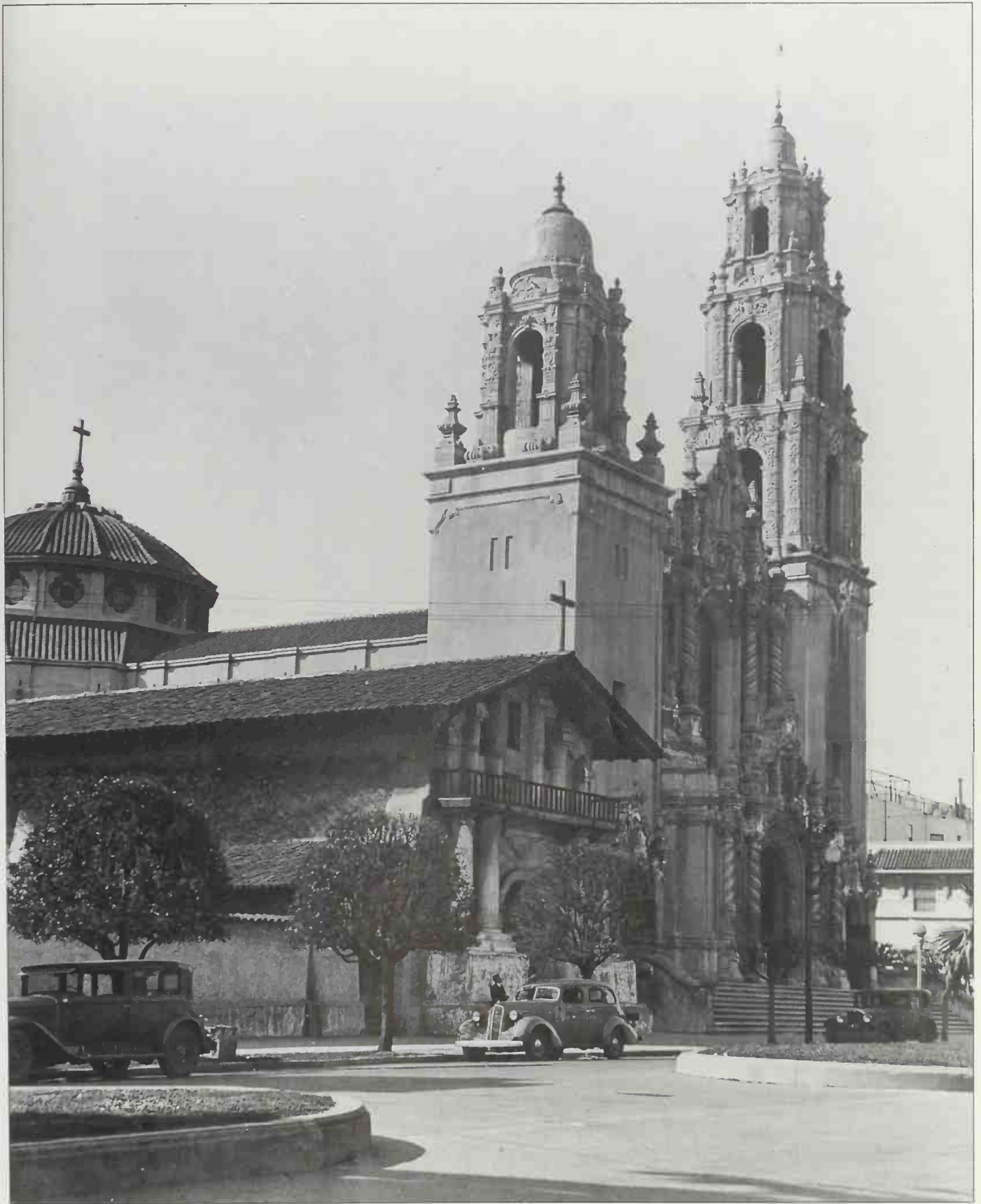
This survey of toleration and discrimination in San Francisco from the end of the Civil War to World War I has suggested that, in this era, the only major area where the city deserves its reputation for toleration is that of religion. One key to understanding the city's toleration of Catholics and Jews must be found in a combination of the rapid growth of the city after 1848, producing a situation where Catholics and Jews were able to compete economically with Protestants without facing long-established family businesses and long-established companies. Another key to understanding the city's toleration of Catholics is to be found in the large proportion of Catholics in the population, when compared to the proportion of the Protestant groups that, in other parts of the nation, provided the basis for organized anti-Catholicism.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 171.

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Testifying to the importance of Catholics and Catholic institutions throughout the history of San Francisco are the Mission San Francisco (Dolores Mission), left, and the recently constructed Mission Dolores Basilica, ca. 1935. It was the establishment of the mission and the presidio in 1776 that marked the founding of the city of San Francisco. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*





By the end of the twentieth century, California's long history of harnessing the wind's energy had evolved into a new industry, and row upon row of wind generators spread across canyon slopes throughout the state. Here, technicians complete maintenance on one such version of the modern windmill. *Courtesy Thomas Braise, WindMaster.*

Wind Energy In California

A NEW BONANZA

by Robert W. Righter

The history of California is noted for unanticipated bonanzas. Now it appears a new bonanza has presented itself. As the state approaches the twenty-first century an unlikely resource—the wind—has assumed an unforeseen significance. On the mountain passes, deserts, and hills of California, close to 16,000 turbines produce over ninety percent of the wind-generated electricity produced in the United States, enough for the electrical needs of nearly one million residents.¹ These wind generators represent not only usable electricity, but also validation of the idea that solar renewable energy can be more than mere talk.

How did this happen? Other states have equal wind resources, some superior. Yet California has been and is the leader. In its early history, of course, the wind produced by prevailing westerly air currents invading the coastline proved pivotal. It transported early sea voyagers such as Cortés, Cabrillo, Drake, and Vizcaíno north from Mexico, first revealing the country and its peoples to European eyes. In the decades to follow, the salt water wakes of hundreds of deep-water sailing ships provided the invisible paths of culture, commerce, and conquest.

However, if we limit the definition of wind energy to terrestrial use, we must turn to water-pumping windmills. On this subject, the prevailing viewpoint suggested that the "American windmill" entered the West from the East, the invention of New Englander Andrew Halladay. However, research by Roger Manning revealed that local craftsmen working for W. I. Tustin of Benicia, California, constructed a windmill by 1849. Five years later Tustin's workers

were building self-regulating windmills and distributing them widely around San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton. By 1860 a number of small companies produced windmills. By 1861 the windmill exhibit at the California State Fair had its own judging committee, Stockton was popularly called the "City of Windmills," and hundreds of windmills lined the west side of the Central Valley and elsewhere throughout the state. Light, inexpensive, self-regulating, and easy to maintain, windmills often accompanied the settlers' cabins, liberating abundant groundwater for a soil-rich, but rainfall-poor region.² By 1875 midwestern windmills did capture the California market, but the early dominance of locally produced windmills indicated that the state was not so technologically primitive or dependent upon eastern manufactured goods as was commonly believed.

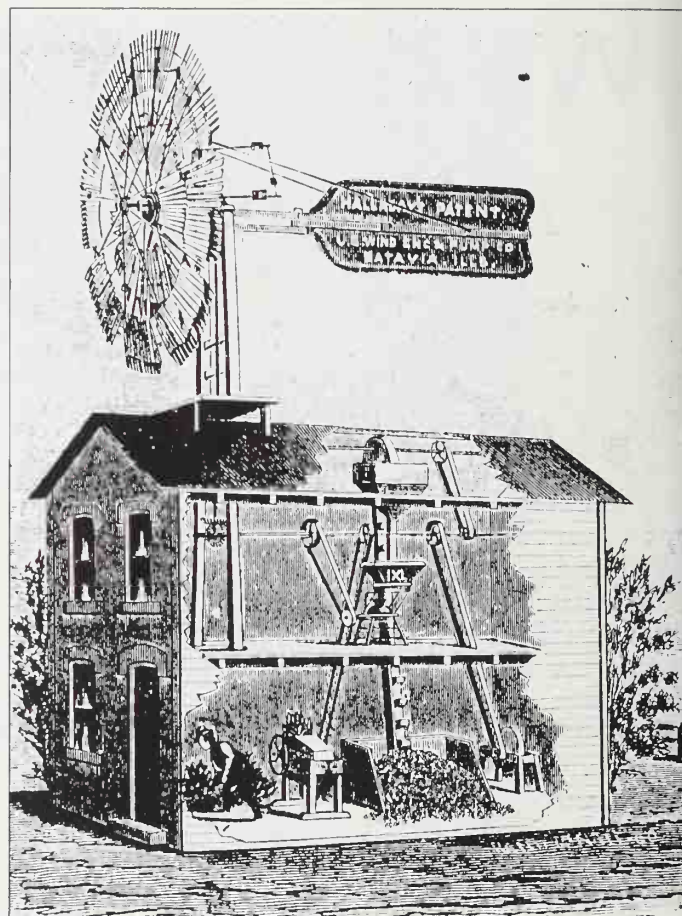
These early windmills could provide drinking water for man and beast, and perhaps enough for a garden, but large-scale irrigation was out of the question. Therefore, by the turn of the century, farmers turned first to kerosene and gasoline pumps, and then to electric water pumps to meet their needs. This soaring rural demand for electricity by the early twentieth century presented an opportunity that private energy companies, such as the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, were pleased to fill. Whereas farmers and ranchers elsewhere were unable to entice electric companies to string wires to rural regions, financial capital flowed into the Central Valley and other agricultural areas of California. In 1920, only ten percent of American farmers enjoyed central electricity, but twenty-five percent

of California farmers were hooked to central power.³ Those without central power assumed that it would soon come.

Thus, whereas thousands of farmers and ranchers in more electrically deprived regions of the West looked to the new wind turbines to provide them with electricity, in California no similar need existed, and thus the state lagged behind others in the development of wind-generated electricity. It is difficult, indeed, to find popular wind turbines such as the Jacobs or the Wincharger models in California, although from the 1920s into the 1950s these two companies sold thousands of units in the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains states.⁴

California, however, can claim a unique wind turbine. At San Geronio Pass, east of Los Angeles, a tall, debonair real estate developer named Dew Oliver developed the first commercial wind generator, a ten-ton, seventy-foot, bell-shaped tube. In the early 1920s, Oliver had promoted real estate at Seal Beach, where, according to one resident, he could "talk a person out of the gold in his teeth."⁵ In spite of such supposed sales talent, Oliver's real estate ventures went sour. Never at a loss for an entrepreneurial gamble, a new idea captured his imagination. On a trip to the Midwest, he had observed a number of wind chargers at work, and upon returning to California the idea took hold. He was appraising property in San Geronio Pass when it occurred to him that the wind resource might be more valuable than the barren land. A local Indian saying further substantiated what was evident: "When the wind quits in the pass the end of the world will have come."⁶ Thus, with his on-site evidence backed by Indian wisdom, Oliver decided to build his unique, bell-shaped wind turbine called the "Oliver Electric Power Generator." The massive machine, which stretched seventy feet and was sometimes described as a giant blunderbuss, relied on a giant metal tube that sat on a circular track atop a concrete foundation. When the wind shifted, the tube pivoted, funneling the air and compressing it approximately twelve times. The compressed air spun a series of propellers mounted on a horizontal shaft within the tube. The propellers turned two generators, capable of producing two hundred horsepower.⁷

According to one account, the system performed satisfactorily. Much later, Sperry Knighton, Oliver's electrical engineer, claimed that "the idea worked. Only lack of money kept us from powering Palm

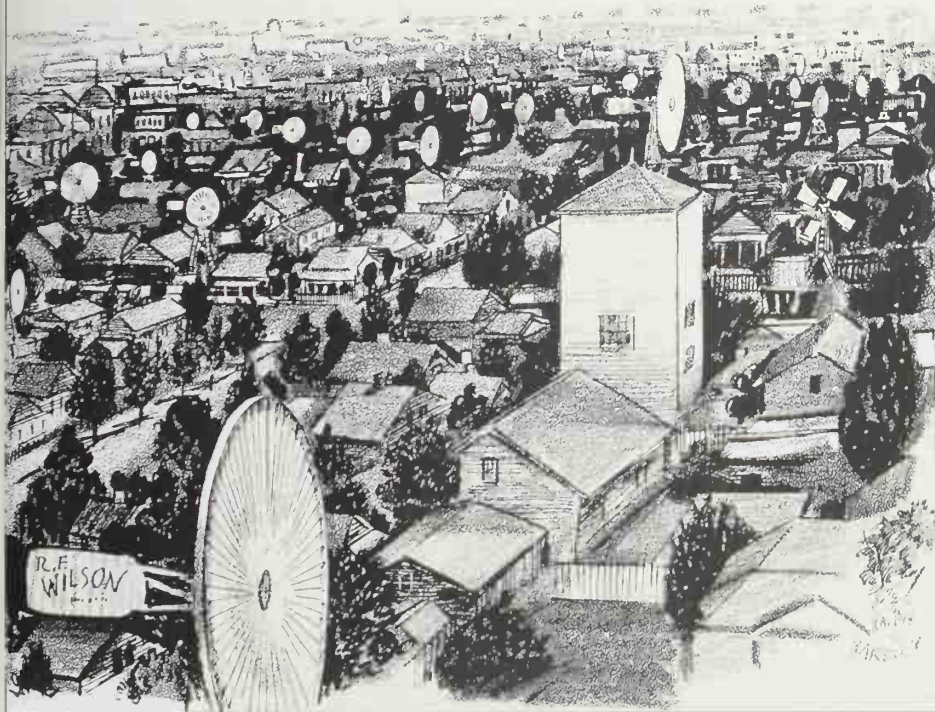


This cutaway engraving shows the water-pumping Halladay windmill, ca. 1870, which replaced earlier Dutch and English designs that had been used in America. Built with many additional, shorter blades, the Halladay mill drew water from depths of 150 feet, ten times that of its predecessors, which proved essential in the development of the arid West. *Courtesy New York Public Library.*

Springs as Dew planned to do with that turbine. There was no mechanical trouble whatever."⁸ Knighton's memory may have been hazy, however. According to more than one account, the initial generator, a relic from an old Seal Beach roller coaster, spun so fast that it soon burned up. The second installation, a more powerful generator from the Pacific Electric Streetcar Company of Los Angeles, proved more suitable for the load.⁹

With his first turbine generating, Oliver announced

STOCKTON, THE CITY OF
WINDMILLS
ABOUT 1885



Today, sleek steel windmills stand like sentinels beside Altamont Pass, east of San Francisco Bay, yet they have all but vanished in nearby Stockton, once known as "the city of windmills." This Ralph O. Yardley drawing, published in 1947, recalls Stockton's late-nineteenth-century appearance, when residents depended on private windmills to supply their water. *Courtesy Haggin Museum.*

that his company intended to build a dozen or more similar tunnel system generators throughout a given electrical district. With that number of scattered units he assumed that at least one of the turbines would always be producing, providing electrical power for his customers. If, perchance, a general calm occurred, a bank of batteries would provide some storage capability.¹⁰ Simply put, Oliver planned to build the first wind electric farm, but a decentralized one that would be independent of other forms of energy production.

The desert residents of Palm Springs never discovered whether his idea would work, however. Financial troubles brought the venture crashing down not long after his first turbine began producing. Convinced that enough capital was all he needed to assure his success, Oliver formed the Oliver Electric Power Corporation in Reno, Nevada,

and capitalized it at \$12.5 million. He sold stock in amounts of \$50 to \$10,000 in the boom market of the 1920s. Although investors responded generously, Oliver never paid much attention to securities laws, and in 1929 he faced eleven charges of grand theft under of the California State Corporate Securities Act. Brought to trial in April, he was found guilty by a Riverside County Superior Court jury on six counts. Judge F. A. Leonard sentenced him to three years in prison, but then commuted his imprisonment to three months on the condition "that Oliver abstain from liquor and stay out of places where it was sold."¹¹

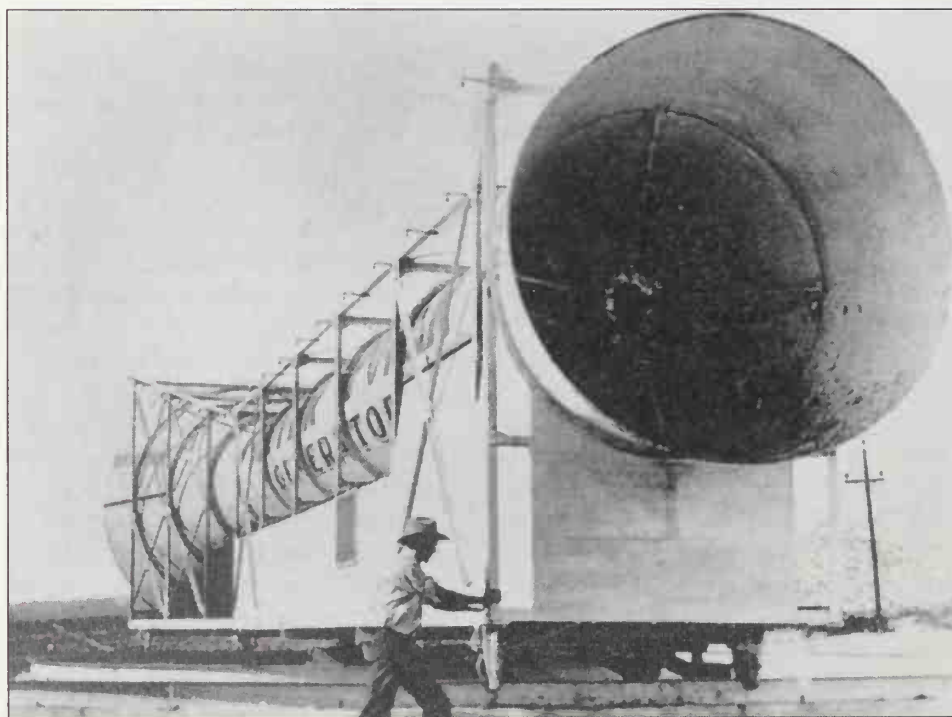
Whether Oliver honored the conditions of his commutation is unknown, but surely his career as a wind energy pioneer came to an end, as did the Oliver wind plant.¹² To his credit, he was the first to recognize the potential of the San Geronio Pass

area for wind generation and to provide seminal ideas regarding the concept of wind farms. But his more dubious legacy has to be his shady business dealings, which eventually resulted in his conviction as a criminal. Oliver was a forerunner of the charlatans who in the early 1980s would use federal and California laws to put up shoddy wind machines. Like some contemporary promoters, Oliver apparently cared more for profits than performance.

Perhaps the failure of the Oliver “blunderbuss” illustrated that successful development of wind energy would require more than pure private enterprise. Positive incentives from the public sector would have to be provided. Yet from 1930 to 1970 there was no interest in wind energy. It seemed a woefully inadequate method of power production, especially with the advent of the fashionable nuclear plants. In the 1970s, however, a more critical assessment of the nation’s energy needs and energy production profoundly affected California.

By 1980 the business climate was advantageous and venture capital for wind generation flowed into the state. Between 1981 and 1990 some 15,000 wind generators were erected, mainly at three sites: San Geronio Pass, Tehachapi Pass between the San Joaquin Valley and the Mojave Desert, and Altamont Pass in the Coast Range between the San Francisco Bay Area and the Central Valley. Today few Californians are unaware of this new phenomena on the landscape.

Determining the reasons for this surge toward the development of renewable energy is surely speculative. However, by the early 1970s, increasing numbers of Californians questioned whether being the biggest was necessarily the best and whether continued growth represented progress. Urban Californians were most concerned. Crowded, smog-filled cities overwhelmed the old “Garden of Eden” image of southern California, prompting historian/sociologist Lewis Mumford to ask the question: “If the places we live and work were really fit for human habitation, why should we spend so much of our



On the desert landscape of San Geronio Pass, Dew Oliver built this giant “blunderbuss” in the late 1920s. It generated electricity but could not forestall Oliver’s financial ruin and conviction for fraud. *Courtesy of the author.*



Long lines of wind generators, such as these Mitsubishi turbines at Tehachapi Pass, have inspired comparisons with moving, but static, armies. *Courtesy of the author.*

time getting away from them."¹³ Furthermore, such groups as "California Tomorrow," the Environmental Defense Fund, and the always-influential Sierra Club questioned whether the state must submit to a future of more and more huge, polluting, nuclear-, oil-, and coal-fired generating stations to supply the burgeoning population. Meanwhile, in the 1970s, recurring oil and gasoline shortages created by political turmoil in the Middle East sent fuel prices soaring, touching off a search for cheaper, as well as less polluting, sources of energy.

The election of Governor Jerry Brown (1975–1983) may be interpreted in different ways, but surely he represented the "green" interests. Once in office, Brown moved fast. He resurrected the California Energy Commission (CEC), and established the Office of Appropriate Technology, both focused on the increased use of renewable energy. Legislation in 1978 known as the Mello Act (named after sponsor

Representative Henry Mello) appropriated \$800,000 to the CEC to accelerate wind-energy research. It passed in the same year that some fifteen million Americans participated in "Sun Day," a national celebration on May 3 calling attention to the potential of solar power. The Mello Act set various goals, including that by 1987 one percent of California's energy would be produced by wind generators, and that by the turn of the century the percentage would jump to ten.¹⁴ The CEC embarked on projects and issued contracts for numerous wind energy assessment projects. These studies pinpointed the best wind-energy locations. Later, Mike DeAngelis, a member of the Brown team, praised these reports, expressing his opinion that they were "one of the main reasons California has almost 90 percent of all wind development worldwide—it could have gone elsewhere in the United States but the data were just not there."¹⁵



With the state's transformation from land of promise to landscape of compromise, the growing population and industrialization of California are evident in this view of the California aqueduct, wind generators and high-tension transmission lines that crisscross the state, delivering water and electricity. *Courtesy of the author.*

Of course, financial incentives were necessary to attract venture capital, especially in such an unknown, risky area as wind energy. Office of Appropriate Technology staffers, such as Ty Cashman, worked successfully to see that, when a solar energy tax credit bill worked its way through the legislature, it included wind energy.¹⁶ When the bill became law in 1978, it stated that "wind energy for the production of electricity and mechanical work" would qualify for a twenty-five-percent tax credit.¹⁷

With federal tax credits of some twenty-five percent already in place, investors were assured a first-year return of fifty percent. An investor prospectus for WindMaster, Inc., a Belgian company, boasted that

the investor of \$100,000 in a limited partnership could recover \$52,000 the first year, and almost \$90,000 within five years, even though the investor's wind turbine might not produce a kilowatt of electricity.¹⁸ Such incentives attracted a large influx of capital, initiating what in 1983 *Forbes* magazine called "the fad of the year: the wind park tax shelter."¹⁹

Of course, in order to build wind farms, developers needed a market. Essentially, in the south, Southern California Edison (SCE) controlled the energy market, while in the north, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E) dominated. The two companies dominated in both the production and the distribution of electrical energy. In the early

1970s both companies began campaigns to urge consumers to conserve, but executives were skeptical and rigid regarding new methods of power production. Historian Richard Hirsh described the smug, self-confident mood of the great northern California utility company: "An industry giant, with about 10,000 mw of capacity in 1970, PG&E entered the decade with old strategies intact. Expecting load growth to continue at its traditional rate of 6 to 7% annually, the company foresaw the need to construct five new nuclear power plants for use in the 1980s at a cost of about \$13 billion."²⁰ Yet by the close of the decade both companies had not only forsaken nuclear plants, but *all* large, capital-intensive power plants.

This was a remarkable turnabout, and a full explanation is beyond the scope of this article. However, a few factors were evident. First, the planners were wrong in their load growth forecasts,

underestimating the impact of energy conservation programs. Second, as is well known, because of the ecological disaster at the failed Three-Mile-Island nuclear plant in Pennsylvania and notorious chronic safety problems on many other reactors, the public became disenchanted with nuclear energy. Third, environmental groups questioned the utilities' notion that new nuclear, oil, or coal generating plants had to be built. The Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) led the charge, successfully questioning the growth projections of the PG&E computer models, substituting their own "greenie" model.²¹ The EDF model was particularly unique, in that it demonstrated how PG&E could profit by spending money on conservation projects and then adding that expense to the rate structure, allowing for a reasonable return of about twelve percent. Making money by *not* producing energy was surely unique, and both PG&E and SCE lawyers and planners at



Travelers and commuters driving on Interstate 580 over Altamont Pass encounter an awesome expanse of wind turbines. As the state's second largest windfarm site, Altamont is a study in the evolving design of rotors and turbines. This string of early turbines may have inspired Sylvia White, professor of urban and regional planning, to dub the Altamont windmills "exoskeletal outer-space creations." *Courtesy of the author.*

first fought the idea, but by 1980, in the words of EDF lawyer David Roe, "PG&E and [Southern California] Edison went back to their drawing boards and figured out how to meet all their electricity needs through the end of the 1980s without ordering a single new monolith."²²

Not only did the utility companies renounce huge new plants, but they became more flexible on the idea of purchase of energy from renewable or cogeneration sources. The companies would no longer insist upon a monopoly of energy production. In 1981 a writer for *National Geographic* found that PG&E now viewed itself "more as energy-service specialists rather than simply power providers," and Southern California Edison acknowledged renewable energy as a "preferred technology."²³ One is quick to add that the utility companies' abandonment of a previous monopoly was not without outside pressure. The California Public Utility Commission moved decidedly toward a "soft energy path" and the views of EDF lawyers. The commission influenced the utility companies, and at one point imposed a hefty fine on PG&E for dragging its feet on implementation of conservation plans.²⁴

A 1978 federal law, however, proved most effective in forcing the utility companies to share in the task of energy production. The Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act (PURPA) represented a complicated piece of legislation reflecting utility company concerns, and would have been forgettable except for Section 210, titled "Cogeneration and Small Power Production."²⁵ Section 210, although "the most underlobbied, unsung piece of the National Energy Act," would change the nature of energy production in the United States.²⁶ The section required that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission prescribe rules for cogeneration and small energy power production. Cogeneration referred to relatively small steam- or gas-turbine generators that could utilize discarded heat from processes such as paper-making or petroleum-refining. "Small energy power production" largely referred to solar sources of power (sun and wind) or hydro power. The unprecedented, indeed radical, nature of the new law could be found in the guidelines that *required* (not "suggested" or "encouraged") utility companies to purchase electric energy from these qualifying facilities (QFs) at the "avoided cost."²⁷ The "avoided cost" comprised the "fixed and running costs" that a utility company could avoid by a purchase program. Generally, it is

split into two divisions: 1) energy costs (fuel, operation, and maintenance) and 2) capacity costs (the capital costs involved in meeting "peak demand" periods). Determining the avoided cost rate is never easy, and is a matter of divergent opinion, compromise, and a search for equity.

The PURPA legislation worked a small revolution in American power production. First, the legislation encouraged penetration of the power-production monopoly of the utility companies. It signaled that utility executives must think of smaller means of production. Renewables, such as biomass, waste, water, solar, and wind, were all stipulated as "qualifying facilities." Finally, it pledged that small producers of electricity would be treated fairly both by utility companies and state public utility commissions. For wind energy, the act swung wide the gates of opportunity.²⁸

Thus a combination of environmental activism, energy conservation, political leadership, ample venture capital, and favorable state and federal legislation all combined to provide a fertile field for wind energy development in California. The year 1981 was one of capital accumulation and deal-making, with only 40 turbines installed. But the years to follow saw frenzied activity. In 1982, 465 turbines were installed, and that number jumped geometrically to 1,741 the following year. In 1984 the acceleration continued with 3,884 units erected, finally hitting the zenith of activity in 1985, when 4,529 new turbines faced the wind. At Altamont, Tehachapi, and San Geronimo, construction workers installed some 10,661 wind generators with a total capacity of 1,126 mw, representing over ninety-six percent of wind energy capacity in the United States.²⁹ American companies, such as Fayette Manufacturing Company, FloWind, and U. S. Windpower, put up the majority of the early turbines, but the business quickly acquired a global character. Germany, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland, Japan, and the United Kingdom were all represented in some fashion. Unfamiliar companies, such as HMZ-WindMaster (Belgium), Vestas (Denmark), Micon (Denmark), Bonus Energy (Denmark), Nordtank (Denmark), James Howden (United Kingdom), Wind Energy Group (United Kingdom), Stork FDO (Netherlands), and M.A.N. (Germany), brought their wind turbines to California and set up shop, hoping to glean knowledge as well as profits from this new bonanza of opportunity.³⁰ Like many early

Few Altamont Pass commuters have seen the Pacific Gas and Electric Tesla Road energy substation, above, where the private utility company gathers and distributes the power generated at the pass. *Courtesy of the author.*



California bonanzas, however, this great boom was followed by a bust, initiated by the loss of federal and state tax credits and mechanical failure of many of the turbines. Nevertheless by 1989 construction began anew, and today almost 16,000 turbines feed power into the PG&E and SCE state grid systems.

How have Californians reacted to this quite remarkable accomplishment? It may be premature for meaningful judgments, but some observations may be in order. As a starting point, we might note the observation of Patrick Arguello, an employee at the Howden wind farm park at Altamont. Arguello was astonished at environmental protests *against* the Altamont wind farms in the late 1980s, remarking that "wind energy used to be the darling of the environmental movement."³¹ Indeed it was, and many believed that wind energy offered the answer to the yearning for a benign method of producing energy. Once the machines were up and turning, the negative aspects of thousands of wind generators became evident.

Most apparent to the millions of automobile

travelers driving the interstate highways through Altamont and San Geronimo passes was that many of the turbines did not work. Some wind farm parks seemed to be little more than a wreckage of broken blades, downed turbines and towers, and general technological chaos. The performance of International Dynergy's Cabezon and Maeva wind farms at San Geronimo offer a case in point. In 1985 at Cabezon, less than one-half of the turbines were operative, and that figure slipped to less than twenty-five percent. At the Maeva site, the statistics were just as dismal, with the turbines producing only about twelve percent of the park's projected production in late 1985. The result has been litigation and bankruptcy.³² The two parks also drew the attention of the Internal Revenue Service, which took the reasonable position that if limited partner investors received huge tax credits, the wind turbines should perform.³³

Bill Adams, a reputable wind park developer, underscored the problem of reliability when he noted that "a lot of schlocks were getting into the business [in the early 1980s] and selling prototype

machines on a mass basis that didn't work."³⁴ Even the more reputable developers and manufacturers experienced difficulties, however. By late 1987, many of the Danish wind turbines' fiberglass blades developed structural problems, best described as fatigue cracks. In early 1988, SeaWest Energy Company shut down 494 of their 870 units at San Geronio because of blade problems.³⁵ Farther north, at Altamont, unreliability haunted the industry. In late 1984, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors voted to deny new windmill permits until 557 broken down, unsightly wind turbines were removed.³⁶ Machines in disrepair, shady companies, and unreliability seriously damaged the industry's reputation, resulting in loss of public faith. When the time for tax credit extension beyond 1985 came under discussion, even Congressman Pete Stark, representing the Altamont hills area, opposed continuation, remarking that "with what taxpayers are paying [for wind energy], we'd be better off hiring thousands of kids to sit on bicycles and pedal away to produce power for our toasters."³⁷

Although the reliability question proved central, opponents of the wind farms attacked them on three environmental issues: 1) desecration of the rural landscape, 2) noise pollution, and 3) avian mortality. The most serious attack had to do with the landscape. Perhaps some of the most devastating criticism came from Sylvia White, a professor of urban and regional planning at California Polytechnic University, Pomona. White felt the scenic Altamont hills had been destroyed by "exoskeletal outer-space creations." The turbines possessed grotesquely anthropomorphic similarities, such as "long, sweeping blades attached to what ought to be their noses." "Their legs are frozen in concrete, stationary but seemingly kinetic." For White, the "once-friendly pastoral scenes now bristle with iron forests."³⁸ Echoing White's sentiments, Mark Evanoff, director of "People For Open Space/Greenbelt Congress," called for the "decommissioning" of the windmills. For Evanoff and his supporters, the wind turbines represented industrial culprits intruding on a pristine environment. "The greenbelt is not the place for light industry," stated Evanoff, referring to the Altamont wind farms.³⁹

In the San Geronio/Palm Springs area, wind energy faced an opponent experienced in capturing the media spotlight. Sonny Bono, an entertainer who had achieved a certain fame as the one-time

husband and singing partner of Cher Bono, became mayor of Palm Springs in 1988. Although not particularly articulate, like Mayor Clint Eastwood of Carmel, Bono could transform a local story into a national event. By June 1989, Bono was calling the turbines ugly and "a tax write-off for the owners." He announced that he would "fly to the nation's capitol . . . to do battle as Don Quixote did against windmills." The announcement proved more dramatic than the journey. Bono's group did meet with Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, who, with diplomatic aplomb, assured the irate mayor that he would look into the situation.⁴⁰

Bono certainly represented many residents. Since the wind turbines first appeared in 1981, residents had expressed reservations and often hostility to the intrusion. In 1985, Palm Springs mayor Frank Bogert felt comfortable in announcing that he did not "think tourism and industry go together, and all these windmills look like industry."⁴¹ On the other side of the coin, however, some residents feared the invasion of Los Angeles smog more than the wind turbines. An objective study by academic investigators Martin Pasqualetti and Edgar Butler indicated that the residents of Palm Springs were divided on the issue. Most residents opposed to the generators lived within two miles of the spinning turbines. They objected to the structures' noise and visual disturbance. However, the majority of residents were ambivalent, recognizing the value of a pollution-free energy source. Most significantly, the study questioned "the negative impression which one gleans from talking with local legislators and residents."⁴²

Certainly division in Palm Springs still exists today, but a certain truce, indeed peace, has prevailed since August 1990, the month in which Mayor Bono reversed his position. Perhaps listening to advocates like Clare Lees, who advised Sonny not to "pout because the windmills won't go away," but "use them to the city's advantage," Bono began to praise the wind turbines. Through annexation of the wind farms, he hoped to resolve the city's budgetary problems without resort to a resident property tax hike. In perhaps the ultimate irony, by late 1991 the neighboring town of Desert Hot Springs and Palm Springs were locked in a "turf war" to see which city could annex the most wind farm land.⁴³

Noise pollution has affected primarily those people who live close to the wind turbines. Some turbines are very noisy, some are not. One couple,



Left: As mayor of Palm Springs, Sonny Bono expressed his dismay as wind turbines began to line the nearby countryside. Within two years, however, he recognized the windmills' value as a source of municipal revenue, if not their usefulness in providing clean energy. *Courtesy Sonny Bono Headquarters.*

Below: Mt. San Jacinto forms the backdrop for these wind generators located near Palm Springs. *Courtesy of the author.*



owners of a "ranchette" on the eastern side of the Altamont hills, protested so vigorously the "high-pitched aerodynamic whizzing sound" and the thumping helicopter-type noise of the ESI (Energy Sciences, Incorporated) two-bladed downwind turbine, that the company purchased their home and turned it into its headquarters.⁴⁴ Darryl Mueller and John Soares represent two outraged homeowners who live on Dyer Road on the west side of the Altamont hills. Mueller protested that the turbines were "within three-quarters of a mile of my house and I can hear these windmills beating against my windows late at night." Soares agreed, stating that at night "sometimes it's [the noise] almost unbearable."⁴⁵ Turbines are indeed disturbing, especially at night when the "whooshing" sound bounces off the atmosphere. One resident described the intrusion as "a pulsing beat . . . [like] a heartbeat magnified through a powerful speaker system."⁴⁶ Such a reminder of one's mortality could surely cause sleeplessness.

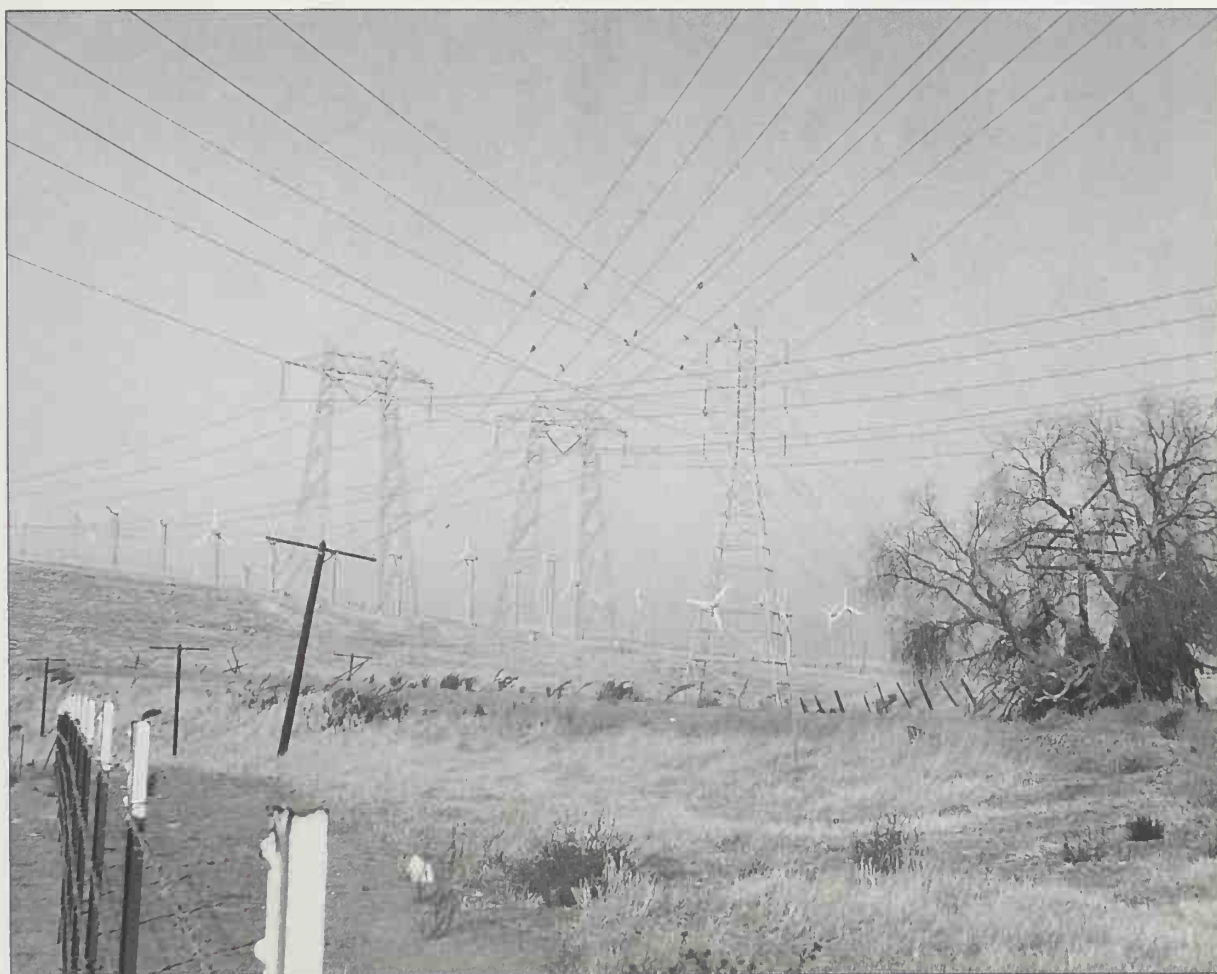
In some areas wind turbines also take a toll on the bird population. Avian mortality has been largely limited to the Altamont Pass area, where red-tailed hawks and golden eagles soar on the updraft winds and hunt on the grass-covered hills. When installation commenced in 1981, developers expressed little concern for the raptors. However, between November 1984 and April 1988, ninety-nine collision or electrocution incidents were reported to the California Energy Commission. A 1989 CEC report indicated that, with regard to bird electrocutions, "corrective measures have been successful where implemented." The collision problem has proved more difficult. From reports of "head, leg and body injuries . . . including completely severed heads and bodies sheared in half," it was evident that the spinning blades were doing the damage.⁴⁷ The problem of bird deaths remained unresolved at Altamont, prompting David Nesmith of the San Francisco Bay Area chapter of the Sierra Club to comment that "whenever we think we've found the perfect environmentally benign form of energy production we find that there's a problem. We're certainly supportive of production of this nature [wind energy] as less destructive than fossil fuels and nuclear energy production, but the raptor damage certainly disturbs us."⁴⁸

Not only did the bird-death problem at Altamont upset environmentalists, it proved a significant

factor in defeating the Zond Systems proposal to develop a wind farm of 458 turbines at Tejon Pass. The reasons for the unanimous rejection by Los Angeles County Planning Commission were complex, but surely a California Department of Fish and Game biologist's belief that the turbines would endanger California condor "flyways"—if the giant birds were reintroduced into the area—played a role. Russell Hemsath's testimony was even more telling. Representing the California State Racing Pigeon Association, Hemsath declared that if Zond had its way, "our birds would look like they went through a Cuisinart."⁴⁹ A visual image of chopped-up pigeons and raptor birds executed by Zond turbines was difficult, indeed impossible, to counter.

Two analysts agreed that the Tejon Pass wind farm defeat suggested that "the macro-scale benefits of wind energy [clean air, etc.] . . . seemed to make no impression and failed to counteract the micro-scale, local concerns of opponents." Local real estate and avian interests won the fight but incurred the wrath of environmental journalist Alston Chase, who castigated the local NIMBY ("Not in my backyard") reflex "dressed in the language of ecology." "The spirit of John Muir, Teddy Roosevelt and Rachel Carson," he charged, "is being co-opted by affluent practitioners of primitive chic more concerned with property values than with ecologic sustainability."⁵⁰

As Californians approach a new century, it seems safe to say that they remain ambivalent with regard to wind energy. With the exception of the Montezuma Hills area, west of Rio Vista in the agriculturally rich Delta region, there have been few new turbines erected.⁵¹ Although engineers and maintenance people have largely solved the riddle of reliability (some farms now have a ninety-five percent availability rate), whether this infant industry will prosper is somewhat dependent on the large utility companies and the state Public Utility Commission. For the past ten years (1983–1993), wind energy companies have been paid about seven cents per kilowatt hour by PG&E and Southern California Edison. However, the utility companies believe the "avoided cost" rate should be lowered in any new contract, arguing that the price of oil has dropped. A lower rate could drive many wind-generation companies out of business. However, overseeing all negotiations is the California Public Utility Commission, which in recent years has



Wind generators and power lines at Altamont Pass. In some areas of the state, expansion of wind farms has been slowed or halted because of criticisms of the generators' unaesthetic appearance, noise, ground vibration, intrusion on grazing lands, and destruction of birdlife. Courtesy of the author.

been sympathetic to renewable energy and may factor in the "social" or "hidden" costs involved with fossil fuels. With more reliable wind turbines, a sympathetic PUC view of "avoided costs," and the growing support of the public, this seminal experiment in renewable energy should survive.

Whatever the outcome, California has proved to be a pioneer. In so doing, it has not developed the perfect, benign way to produce electrical energy. Energy production, however, is not a question of finding the perfect source, but rather identifying and encouraging sustainable, *reasonably* benign energy sources. Wind energy has its faults, yet its gentle nature ought to assure its survival, providing electrical energy for the state and an example for the nation.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 174.

Robert W. Righter is a professor of history at the University of Texas at El Paso. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and specializes in the American West and environmental history. His new book, titled *Wind Energy In America: A History*, will be published in 1995 by the University of Oklahoma Press.



The Indian practice of controlled burning in selected areas assured reseeding and regeneration of various native trees and grasses. California Native Americans then harvested these lands for foods, as well as materials with which women made baskets. This turn-of-the-century C.C. Pierce photograph of Maria Los Angeles shows the Cahuilla weaver with a bundle of long reeds that will form her coiled basket. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Collection, University of Southern California.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians.

Compiled and edited by Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson. (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1993, 476 pp., \$41.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Albert B. Elsasser, associate research anthropologist (ret.) at the University of California, Berkeley, and author (with R.F. Heizer) of The Natural World of the California Indians.

This volume should stand for a long time as the definitive work on the issue of native Californians' position on the continuum between hunting and gathering (foraging) and food-producing peoples. Blackburn and Anderson have chosen fifteen key papers, all written during the past two decades, which demonstrate that the first term is almost ludicrous. The authors suggest that native Californians, during at least the last millennium and up to the time of white contact, were very close to, and in many ways the functional equivalent of, peoples who could be called "food-producers."

All contributing authors here give ample reason for supporting the validity of the term "management" in the title as accurately describing the corpus of techniques employed for manipulating or altering the environment for the general benefit of the people. These techniques obviously were not the same in the varied natural zones of California, and, indeed, some of them, like irrigation works (see articles by Lawton, Wilke, et al.) and erosion management devices (Shipek), were structures similar to those of unequivocally known agriculturists. In any event, the observation that at the time of white contact California seems to have had one of the highest population densities on the continent north of Mexico also gives credence to the position taken here by all authors.

Chief among the native Californians' techniques or management practices was regular burning of the terrain. H. T. Lewis,

heavily represented in the present volume (one long article and a specially prepared "In Retrospect"), has carried the subject of burning farther than anyone else in California and has become an authority on the matter of aboriginal burning practices, which were designed to improve "wild" crops and animal populations as well. His results have here been strongly supplemented with reference to vegetation burning among the historic Chumash of the Santa Barbara region (Timbrook, et al). In addition, both Anderson and Shipek have separately contributed data on burning from contemporary accounts by native Californians.

Throughout the volume, oak species probably figure most prominently in accounts of resource management (McCarthy); however, the oak was not the only species that called forth the ingenuity and foresightedness of the native Californians. Thus, articles by Anderson, Peri and Patterson, and Ortiz on the all-important materials for basketry, by Farris on pine-nuts, by King on plants for use as fuel, by Wilke on bow staves, and finally by Swezey and Heizer on salmon in northwestern California and the place of ritual in its successful exploitation, all in some measure demonstrate the reality of formal management of food resources in native California. Bean and Lawton's essay, appearing immediately after the introduction to this book, also could have appeared near the end, as additional clarification and support of some of the main issues raised in it.

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The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929–1933: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland.

By William H. Mullins. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, x, 176 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Los Angeles and the Great Depression.

By Leonard Leader. (New York: Garland Press, 1991, xxiii, 309 pp., \$72.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Martin J. Schiesl, professor of history at California State University, Los Angeles, and co-editor of *20th Century Los Angeles: Power, Promotion, and Social Conflict*.

One neglected area in the history of urban America in the twentieth century is the impact of the 1930s Depression upon the economic, social, and political life of far-western cities. William Mullins's *The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929–1933* and Leonard Leader's *Los Angeles and the Great Depression* correct this deficiency considerably. Drawing extensively on newspapers, periodical material, and public documents, Mullins and Leader vividly describe the serious deprivation and misery suffered by a vast number of people and closely analyze the response of private interests and governmental authorities to major dislocations and hardships.

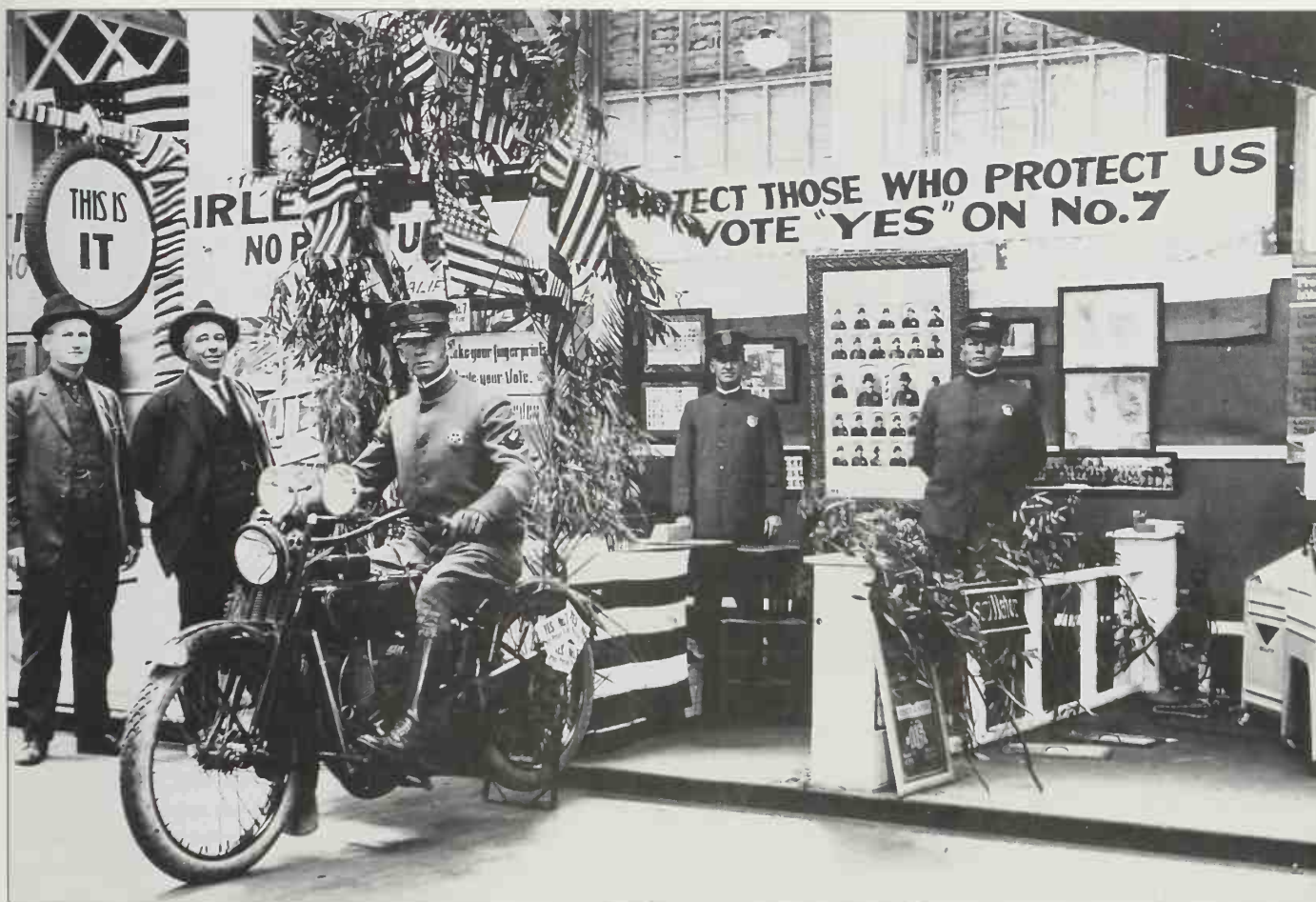
President Herbert Hoover saw no reason for direct federal participation in local recovery and strongly promoted a philosophy of "cooperative individualism," in which individual citizens and groups were to work together and take care of the needs and demands of urban residents. The results of such activity in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland fell far short of Hoover's expectations. Mullins shows that community chest agencies, religious institutions, and private charity organizations struggled unsuccessfully with growing relief burdens and could not provide enough food and shelter for masses of unemployed people. Local officials could do little to help alleviate this deplorable situation because, as Mullins reveals, business leaders and homeowners firmly opposed any increase in local taxes. City governments, in response, lowered property valuations, drastically reduced budgets, and

spent a minimal amount of funds on relief projects. By 1933 there was not much remaining of the spirit of cooperative individualism, and the cities were wholly dependent on federal assistance for their economic survival.

Similar developments appear in Leader's well-written study of Depression-era Los Angeles. He shows that municipal authorities, not wanting to burden propertyholders with large expenses, allocated insufficient funds for relief projects, lowered tax rates considerably, and ruthlessly abolished certain jobs and services. The behavior of self-help cooperatives and unemployed associations, in contrast, was more sensitive and responsible. Leader relates that they provided a large amount of food and various services to many destitute persons and families and left them with a degree of hope and dignity. Communist-led protests of unemployed workers against relief cuts and rent evictions met with harassment and brutal opposition from the local police. The work projects of the New Deal ended much of this conflict, gave jobs to tens of thousands of Angelenos, and built many new public facilities. Leader's conclusion that Los Angeles "had come of age" is too congratulatory, however. Severe problems of anticommunist paranoia and police repression persisted into the 1940s and 1950s and brought much abuse and hardship for political dissidents and racial minorities in the city.

Los Angeles and the Great Depression and *The Depression and the Urban West Coast, 1929–1933* are important additions to the historical literature on American urbanization and provide insightful accounts of a crucial period in the urban development of the Far West.

CHS



In earlier eras, police routinely took active roles in local politics. At this political booth, San Diego police lead an early-twentieth-century campaign for Proposition 7, a local initiative that would increase financial support for police services. *Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.*

To Protect and Serve: A History of the San Diego Police Department and Its Chiefs, 1889–1989.

By Pliny Castanien. (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1993, vi, 121 pp., \$14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Raymond Starr, professor of history at San Diego State University and author of San Diego: A Pictorial History.

The idea of a history of the San Diego police department is a good one, and people in the know have long awaited *To Protect and Serve: A History of the San Diego Police Department and Its*

Chiefs, by Pliny Castanien, an old police reporter who is more colorful than most of the law enforcement people he writes about. While Castanien tells a lot of good anecdotes and outlines many major developments in the history of the police department, his book is also somewhat disappointing. The focus on chiefs is elitist and old fashioned; the book is very journalistic, with no point to make, no conclusion, and no relating of the San Diego experience to a larger picture of law enforcement. Nonetheless, Castanien does tell a good story, and in doing

so, he certainly adds some new threads to the fabric of San Diego narrative and descriptive history.

And the story is a good one. It features colorful people—like tall, dark, and handsome Keno Wilson of the Stingaree Era (1889–1917)—and some solid and perhaps even stolid ones, —like chief Cliff Peterson (1940–1947), who did as much as anyone to modernize and professionalize the department. Castanien also recounts many colorful events in the police department's history, such as the oft-told cleanup of the Stingaree and the IWW riots (1912), the prohibition-era manhunts like that following an Agua Caliente heist (1929), the biggest police shootout in history (1965), and the horrible aftermath of the PSA jet crash (1978), which killed 144. The author also notes major steps in the evolution of the department, such as growing numbers, wage and benefit development, use of automobiles and motorcycles, origins of juvenile programs, the police reserve, new physical plants, and the use of labs and improved storerooms, and a growing emphasis on community relations.

Castanien also gives insight into the sometimes lurid underside of San Diego life—something most historians have ignored. He explores the question of whether the port/military/tourist town should be an "open" city, in which certain types of crime (such as prostitution, gambling, and illegal drinking) would be tolerated, or whether it should be a more law-abiding place. Incidentally, the Navy made the decision for the city on behalf of the former during World War II, which in turn played a large role in making Tijuana the home of the region's underlife.

A central theme in much of the story has been the intense struggle between the police chiefs and the mayors (and later, city managers) of the community. The struggles, were sometimes related to corruption and, in most cases, eroded the effectiveness

of the police chiefs. The growing professionalization of the department and city government in general has eliminated that problem to a great degree. In telling these stories, Castanien has illuminated aspects of San Diego's political history that also have hardly been touched by writers about the city's past.

Thus, despite its shortcomings, *To Protect and Serve* makes its contributions, and certainly should be on the reading list of San Diegans interested in their city's past, or of anyone concerned about the evolution of American law enforcement. CHS

Bread and Hyacinths: The Rise and Fall of Utopian Los Angeles.

By Paul Greenstein, Nigey Lennon, and Lionel Rolfe.
(Los Angeles: California Classics Books, 1992, 139 pp., \$9.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Lyman Tower Sargent, professor of political science at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and editor of Utopian Studies.

American history is full of experiments designed to bring about someone's dream of a better society. This short book centers on one of those dreams, the Llano del Rio Colony northeast of Los Angeles and its founder, Job Harriman. It is a popular, rather than a scholarly, book, and as such it can be frustrating for one interested in following up arguments. Quotations are given without sources, and although there is a brief



The socialist colony, Llano del Rio, seen in a rare 1914 winter snowstorm. Glen and Dorene Settle Collection.

description of the sources used, the authors appear to have missed sources listed in the basic bibliographies in the field of communal studies and at least one basic article in the 1985 issue of the major journal in the field, *Communal Societies*, an article that lists and locates most of the main sources for the study of Llano.

Still, that doesn't matter that much because the book is designed for the general reader interested in the history of California, and specifically the history of Los Angeles. That this is the case is demonstrated by the fact that while Llano is stressed in the "Authors' Introduction," it is not until page 85 of a book with 129 pages of text, that we actually reach the colony, and we leave Llano on page 121.

The authors are particularly concerned with the antagonism between Job Harriman and Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*. This antagonism is not found in most of the studies of Llano, although it appears in many of the general histories of American socialism. Otis, an early exemplar of what we might now call "the hard right," used his position to attack the left and particularly Harriman, who had the effrontery as a lawyer to defend labor leaders and socialists and to run for mayor, beating the incumbent in the primary but losing in the general election.

The authors depict the Llano experiment as a failure, and all their direct statements suggest that it failed due to internal problems. But the whole thrust of the book is that Llano was constantly under attack by Otis and others, and the authors note that Llano's access to water was threatened because they were a socialist community. No community in that area could survive without access to water, and it is doubtful that any community could survive that is constantly under attack and, the authors suggest, actually infiltrated by people opposed to the community's goals. Llano lasted in California for four years, built major buildings (some of which still stand), attracted many committed people, and provided its desert area with a greatly enhanced cultural life. All this while constantly under attack. Its only failure was to not survive; it had problems, but it was certainly a success for many people (the community reached a peak of around 900) for a number of years. The thrust of the book is not that Llano failed, but that it was destroyed by its opponents, who would not allow a socialist experiment to succeed.

This book is recommended for anyone interested in a popular exposition of an interesting chapter in California history, but scholars will need to wait for someone to write a more complete study.

CHS

The Life and Personality of Phoebe Apperson Hearst.

By Winifred Black Bonfils. (San Simeon, California: The Friends of Hearst Castle, 1991, 170 pp., \$21.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Peterson, *professor of history at San Diego State University and author of The Bonanza Kings (updated paperback, 1991) and its sequel, Bonanza Rich (1991).*

In 1927, William Randolph Hearst, the only child of Phoebe and George Hearst, commissioned a newspaperwoman in his employ to write a biography of his mother. This undocumented tribute, originally available in only an elaborate limited edition in 1928, has been reprinted to reach a larger audience. A prefatory note by William R. Hearst, Jr., an introduction, and an index have been added to the original work. Also accompanying the reprint is a revealing, though incomplete, list of organizations and individuals to whom Hearst had sent the book as of 1934.

The Friends of Hearst Castle have performed a useful service by making the study easily available to scholars. However, the author obviously spent little time researching her subject and wrote in an engaging, but journalistic, style of purple prose. These criticisms aside, the book, however unscholarly and biased, is still central to the study of a remarkably philanthropic woman, who not only gave much of the money she inherited from her mining entrepreneur husband to support various causes, but who also gave much of herself by promoting the free kindergarten movement, serving as the first female regent of the University of California, and co-founding the Parent Teachers' Association.

The author provides a chronological account of Phoebe's life, from her Missouri birth in 1842 until her death in California in 1919. Throughout the narrative, significant events and individuals in her life are discussed, including her social and cultural

activities as the wife of a wealthy man, the birth of their son in San Francisco in 1863, her study of art and literature, travels abroad, and, of course, her many friends and charities. The latter included support for archeological expeditions, anthropology, schools, libraries, hospitals, the Red Cross, the Travelers' Aid Association, and especially the University of California at Berkeley.

One of the more redeeming aspects of this book is a series of letters written to Phoebe in later life by her son. They reveal much about personal family relationships, especially regarding Mrs. Hearst's five grandsons. Although the aging Phoebe did not abandon her philanthropic work, she spent much time being a devoted grandmother.

Bonfils's study is an authorized biography and thus falls victim to many of the problems inherent in such works. Perhaps the best concise evaluation was provided by W. A. Swanberg, who commented in *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (1961) that "Phoebe Hearst, whose career deserved the attention of a conscientious biographer, was instead commemorated by a handsome volume written in gushy prose, replete with errors" (p. 322).

A more objective, scholarly analysis of the life and career of Mrs. Hearst can be found in two articles written by this reviewer for *California History* and especially in Judith Robinson's *The Hearsts: An American Dynasty* (1991). CHS



Angel Gate Lighthouse, at the entrance to Los Angeles Harbor, ca. 1930s. Courtesy Huntington Library.

Umbrella Guide to California Lighthouses.

By Sharlene and Ted Nelson. (Seattle: Epicenter Press, 1993, xii, 180 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Carroll Pursell, Adeline Barry Davee Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University.

Lighthouses, like bridges, are technological marks on the landscape, part of a ubiquitous engineering infrastructure providing quiet, competent, and useful service, but also somehow striking a deeply romantic chord with their functional beauty. Sharlene and Ted Nelson have produced a handy guide to the lighthouses of California. It opens with a brief description of how they work, then moves to describe forty of the structures, beginning with the first Point Loma light in San Diego and ending on the north coast with St. George Reef light, just south of the Oregon border.

Each light is given a two- to four-page description, including some historical anecdotes, and a picture, either historical or contemporary. If the lighthouse is open to the public, times are listed. The individual sketches are grouped by region, each of which is given a map clearly showing the location of the lights. A "Lighthouse Summary" lists each alphabetically, with the year of establishment and a few words about its present condition. A short bibliography is appended, which includes Jim Gibbs's *West Coast Lighthouses* (1974) but not much more detailed books by Ralph C. Shanks, Jr., and Janetta Thompson Shanks, *Lighthouses of San Francisco Bay* (1976) and *Lighthouses and Lifeboats on the Redwood Coast* (1978).

Readers of the *Umbrella Guide to California Lighthouses* will discover little new if they are already lighthouse enthusiasts, but the uninitiated traveler will find it a handy guide to visiting these beautiful and moving survivors.

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The Arthur H. Clark Co.

Lawmen & Desperadoes

A Compendium of Noted,
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Officers, Badmen and
Outlaws 1850-1900

by William B. Secrest



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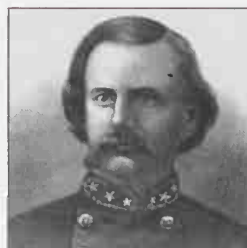
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(ISBN 0-87062-209-9) \$37.50; collector's \$125.00

Regulars in the Redwoods

The U.S. Army in Northern
California 1852-1861

by William F. Strobebridge

Frontier Military Series, Vol. xvi



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Bianchi, Roland R. *Tunes from a Tuscan Guitar: The Life and Times of an Italian Immigrant*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1994. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56474-085-4. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Chan, Sucheng. *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991. \$22.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-55639-201-2. Order from: Temple University Press; 1601 N. Broad Street; University Services Bldg., Rm. 305; Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Chin, Brian B. *Artillery at the Golden Gate: The Harbor Defenses of San Francisco in World War II*. Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1994. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-929521-85-4. Order from: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company; 713 South Third Street; Missoula, MT 59801.

Drake, Eugene B., and Clinton Johnson. *Drake's Spanish Grants, with Johnson's Fraudulent California Land Grants*. San Bernardino: Borgo Press, 1994. \$20.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8095-2802-9; \$10.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-8095-3802-4. Order from: Borgo Press; Post Office Box 2845; San Bernardino, CA 92406-2845.

Ernst, Eldon G., and Douglas Firth Anderson. *Pilgrim Progression: The Protestant Experience in California*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1994. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-56747-063-3. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Fogelson, Robert M. *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*. Foreword by Robert Fishman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Originally published by Harvard University Press, 1967. \$15.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-08230-3. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Freshour, Sidney Glenn. *The Santa Cruz Cavalry Co. & the Butler Guard: 1861-1863*. San Jose: Glenhaven Press, 1993. \$4.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9637265-0-1. Order from: Glenhaven Press; Post Office Box 610086; San Jose, CA 95161-0086.

Gioia, Ted. *West Coast Jazz: Modern Jazz in California, 1945-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-19-508916-2. Reprint of 1992 ed. Order from: Oxford University Press; 2001 Evans Rd.; Cary, NC 27513.

Goines, David Lance. *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1993. \$24.95

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(paper) ISBN: 0-89815-535-5. Order from: Ten Speed Press; Post Office Box 7123; Berkeley, CA 94707.

Gregory, Howard. *Southern California's Seacoast: Then & Now*. Redondo Beach: Howard Gregory Associates, 1981. \$14.95 (paper). Order from: Howard Gregory Associates; 640 The Village, No. 209; Redondo Beach, CA 90277.

Guerin-Gonzales, Camille. *Mexican Workers & American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation & California Farm Labor, 1900-1939*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994. \$39.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8135-2047-9; \$15.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-8135-2048-7. Order from: RUP Distribution Ctr.; Post Office Box 4869; Hampden Sta.; Baltimore, MD 21211.

Hacker, Shyrle. *On Stage, Gypsies*. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company, 1994. \$15.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9613901-4-X. A book about Fanchio and Marco, producers of stage shows that originated in Hollywood and were sent around the nation in the 1930s. Order from: Creative Arts Book Company; 833 Bancroft Way; Berkeley, CA 94710.

Harris, David, with Eric Sandweiss. *Edward Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850-1880*. Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1993. Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, March 31-July 25, 1993. \$60.00 (cloth) ISBN:

0-262-08220-9; \$39.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-262-58121-3. Order from MIT Press; 55 Hayward St.; Cambridge, MA 02142.

Jackson, Alfred. *The Diary of a Forty-Niner*. New York: Turtle Point Press, 1993. Second ed., pref. by Chauncey Canfield. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9627987-3-8. Order from: Turtle Point Press; Turtle Point Rd.; Tuxedo Park, NY 10987.

Johnson, Stephen. *The Great Central Valley: California's Heartland: A Photographic Project*. Text by Gerald Haslam; edited and designed by Stephen Johnson. Berkeley: University of California Press in association with the California Academy of Sciences, 1993. "From an exhibition co-sponsored by the California Academy of Sciences and the Fresno Metropolitan Museum." \$50.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-06411-9; \$30.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-07777-6. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

King, Joseph A. *A Unique Parish: St. Anne's Walnut Creek, California*. Walnut Creek: K & K Pubns., 1994. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9608500-7-4. Orders to: K & K Pubns.; 2109 Skycrest Dr., No. 6; Walnut Creek, CA 94595-1829.

Lister, Roger Charles. *Bank Behavior, Regulation, and Economic Development: California, 1860-1910*. New York: Garland Pub., 1993. \$62.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8153-0967-8. Order from: Garland Publishing Inc.; 1000A Sherman Ave.; Hamden, CT 06514.

McBroome, Delores Nason. *Parallel Communities: African-Americans in California's East Bay, 1850-1963*. New York: Garland Pub., 1993. \$51.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8153-1462-0. Order from: Garland Publishing Inc.; 1000A Sherman Ave.; Hamden, CT 06514.

Marek, Donna. *Creme de Carmel: The Story of the Lively Personalities Who Shaped California's Fabled Coastal Kingdom*. Niwot, Colo.: Rinehart, Roberts, Publishers, 1994. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-879373-88-2. Order from: Rinehart, Roberts, Pubs.; Post Office Box 666; Niwot, CO 80544.

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Moran, Tom. *Los Angeles International Airport: From Lindbergh's Landing Strip to World Air Center*. [Los Angeles]: Los Angeles International Airport; Canoga Park: CCA Publications, 1993. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-884166-01-6. Order from: CCA Pubns.; 7355 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Suite 202; Canoga Park, CA 91303.

Morgan, Dale, ed. *Overland in Eighteen Forty-Six: Diaries & Letters of the California-Oregon Trail*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994. 2 vols. Vol. 1,

\$45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8032-31768-8; vol. 2, \$45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8032-3177-6. Set (paper) \$29.90 ISBN: 0-8032-8202-8. Vol. 1, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-8200-1; vol. 2, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-8201-X. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th St., Rm. 327; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

Nunis, Doyce B., Jr., ed. *Southern California Local History: A Gathering of the Writings of W.W. Robinson*. Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1993. \$45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-914421-10-7; \$85.00 (boxed, signed, limited to 100 copies). Designed by Ward Ritchie. Order from: Historical Society of Southern California; 200 East Avenue 43; Los Angeles, CA 90031.

Pedal Pushers: A Century of Cycling in Santa Cruz County. Santa Cruz: The History Museum of Santa Cruz, 1994. Contains: Rick Hyman, "Bicycling Pioneers in Santa Cruz"; Betty Lewis, "The 1890s Bicycling Craze in the Pajaro Valley"; Piet Canin, "Santa Cruz: A True Bicycling Mecca." Published "In Conjunction with an exhibition presented by the History Museum of Santa Cruz County at the McPherson Center for Art and History, Octagon Gallery, February 12-May 22, 1994." Inquiries to: Historical Museum of Santa Cruz County; 705 Front St.; Santa Cruz, CA 95060-4508.

Phillips, George Harwood. *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,

1993. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8061-2446-6. Order from: University of Oklahoma Press; Post Office Box 787; Norman, OK 73070-0787.

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Slavens, Thomas P. *Sources of Information for Historical Research*. New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 1994. \$39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-55570-093-4. Order from: Neal-Schuman Publishers; 100 Varick Street; New York, NY 10013.

Soter, Bernadette Dominique. *The Light of Learning: An Illustrated History of the Los Angeles Public Library*. Los Angeles: Library Foundation of Los Angeles, 1993. \$25.00 (paper). Order from: Library Foundation of Los Angeles; 630 West 5th Street; Los Angeles, CA 90071.

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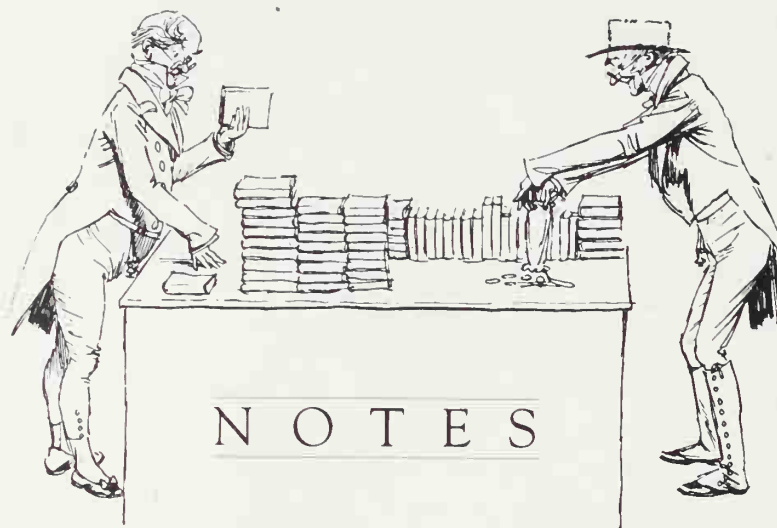
Thrapp, Dan L. *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1994. Vol. 4, supplemental data to the original three-volume set published in 1988, including those who explored California under the flags of Spain, Mexico and Russia. \$65.00 (cloth). Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Trapp, Kenneth R. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1993. \$55.00 (cloth) ISBN: 1-55859-393-4. Order from: Abbeville Press; 488 Madison Ave.; New York, NY 10022.

Tygiel, Jules. *The Great Los Angeles Swindle: The Julian Petroleum Scandal & 1920s America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. \$30.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-19-505489-X. Order from: Oxford University Press; 2001 Evans Rd.; Cary, NC 27513.

Walsh, James P. *Legacy of a Native Son: James Duval Phelan & Villa Montalvo*. Los Gatos: Forbes Mill Press, 1993. \$22.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9636059-0-9. Order from: Forbes Mill Press; 16753 Englewood Ave.; Los Gatos, CA 95032.

Wheeler, B. Gordon. *Black California: The History of African-Americans in the Golden State*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1993. \$22.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-7818-0074-9. Order from: Hippocrene Books; 171 Madison Ave.; New York, NY 10016.



Lamar, "Johann Augustus Sutter," pp. 98-113.

1. Richard Dillon, *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1967; reprint, Santa Cruz, California: Western Tanager, 1981).
2. Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 55-71.
3. James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter: The Man and His Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939).
4. Book Club of California, *Pioneers of the Sacramento: A Group of Letters by and about Johann Augustus Sutter, James W. Marshall, and John Bidwell* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1953). See especially John Bidwell to Captain W. F. Swasey, March 12, 1881, 28-30. According to Zollinger, *Sutter*, 279-80, Peter H. Burnett also saw Sutter as a victim. The Sutter entry by W. J. Ghent in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-37), 18:224-25, is highly favorable, as is Julian Dana's *Sutter of California* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1934).
5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1884-90); see especially 5:738-40. See also Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *John Sutter: Rascal and Adventurer* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1949), which is a biography full of imagined conversation, as is Dana's *Sutter of California*.
6. Zollinger, *Sutter*, 54-56.
7. See Zollinger, *Sutter*, 54, for the text of Jones's Letter.
8. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 76-77, notes Alvarado's

response to Sutter's proposal to hold off Indians, Russians, Anglo-Americans, and the British by settling in the interior. In conveying his approval of the New Helvetia grant a year later, Alvarado asserted that Sutter had "already, in advance, manifested his great affords, his constant firmness, and truly patriotic zeal in favor of our institutions, by reducing to civilization a quantity of savage Indians, natives of these frontiers. . . ." See John Plumbe, *A Faithful Translation of the Papers Respecting the Grant Made by Governor Alvarado to John A. Sutter* (Sacramento: Placer Times, 1850; reprint, Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1942). For the Hudson's Bay Company's presence in the Central Valley, beginning with an expedition led by Peter Skene Ogden in 1829-30, see Gloria Griffin Cline, *Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 93-96; and John S. Galbraith, "A Note on the British Fur Trade in California, 1821-1846," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (May 1955): 253-60.

9. Oscar Lewis, *Sutter's Fort: Gateway to the Gold Fields* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 28.
10. Zollinger, *Sutter*, 54.
11. Zollinger, *Sutter*, 55.
12. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, p. 27, states that Sutter was influenced by Gottfried Duden, a Swiss writer who described America in romantic terms in his *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Vereinigten Staaten* (1832).
13. David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954), 131-40, 385-86.
14. Besides full coverage of their careers in Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, brief biographies of

the Bents and St. Vrain by Gordon B. Dodds appear in Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 87-88, 1060-61. For fuller accounts see the entries in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West: Biographical Sketches of the Participants by Scholars of the Subject and with Introductions by the Editor*, 10 vols. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965-72): s.v. "Charles Bent" and "Ceran St. Vrain" by Harold H. Dunham, 2:27-48, 5:297-316; and s.v. "George Bent" by Harvey L. Carter, 4:39-43.

15. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 29-42, details Sutter's activities in the Santa Fé trade.
16. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 42.
17. Richard Dillon has reached a similar conclusion, remarking that "Sutter was hardly the suicidal type"; see *Fool's Gold*, 42.
18. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 55.
19. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 45-46; see also Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), 350-51. Stewart's western years are fully described in Mae Reed Porter and Odessa Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin: Sir William Drummond Stewart and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade* (New York: Hastings House, 1963). For his role as the patron of Alfred Jacob Miller, see Ron Tyler, ed., *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1982).
20. DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, 343, 372, 448. Walker's long and interesting career is fully recounted in Bil Gilbert, *Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker, Master of the Frontier* (New York: Atheneum, 1983). Although Gilbert does not mention this 1838 meeting between Walker and Sutter, he does remark

- that Joel Walker, the older brother of the mountain man, in 1841 briefly became the manager of Sutter's farm; see 178.
21. DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, 358, 367, 369.
 22. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 56–57, 67; and Howard R. Lamar, "Ewing Young," in Lamar, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1300–1301.
 23. Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 72; and Zollinger, *Sutter*, 48.
 24. In a brief biographical sketch of John Sutter, historian Walton Bean has emphasized that Sutter's Fort soon became "a focal point for the increasing flow of covered wagons bringing settlers from the United States"; see Lamar, *Reader's Encyclopedia*, 1152. As Bean relates, Sutter welcomed these newcomers and later remarked: "They were of my breed and they loved the promise of the soil."
 25. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 55.
 26. Sutter's purchase of Fort Ross is noted in Zollinger, *Sutter*, 96–97, and in Lewis, *Sutter's Fort*, 39–49, 54–57.
 27. The range of business activities at Sutter's Fort is demonstrated in notations throughout John A. Sutter, et al., *New Helvetia Diary: A Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1939). See especially ix–xi, xxiv–xxv.
 28. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 56–59; and Dillon, *Fool's Gold*, 112.
 29. The *New Helvetia Diary* suggests how busy these men were when they worked for Sutter. See especially entries for 1845 and 1846, with daily arrivals of traders and settlers, launches going back and forth to Yerba Buena, and Sutter sending Indian youths to work for Leidesdorff and Antonio Suñol.
 30. *New Helvetia Diary* entries for late November and December, 1845, 14–18, note the activities of blacksmith Samuel Neal. Entries from December 15, 1845, to February 1, 1846, 18–25, also record the work of two other blacksmiths, Sanders and Kamp, who had accompanied the Frémont expedition.
 31. It did not take Sutter long to decide that his future lay with American immigrants; he then sent Caleb Greenwood east to Fort Hall to urge those on the way to Oregon to come to California instead. See Charles Kelly and Dale Morgan, *The Story of Caleb Greenwood—Trapper, Pathfinder and Early Pioneer* (Georgetown, California: Talisman Press, 1965).
 32. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Voyage to California Ports in 1841–42, Together with Voyages to Sitka, the Sandwich Islands & Okhotsk . . . from the Narrative of a Voyage round the World*, ed. Thomas C. Russell (San Francisco: Private Press of Thomas C. Russell, 1930), 73–74. Sir George did see one possible strategic alternative: if Great Britain would occupy San Francisco Bay, the United States would be preempted from assuming a dominant role. But, he concluded, "English, in some sense or other of the word, the richest portions of California must become. Either Great Britain will introduce her well-regulated freedom of all classes and colors or the people of the United States will inundate the country with their own peculiar mixture of helpless bondage and lawless insubordination. Between two such alternatives the Californians themselves have little room for choice. . . ."
 33. Sutter, et al., *New Helvetia Diary*, 16, 19, 25, 30, 46, 47, 56–57.
 34. Sutter, et al., *New Helvetia Diary*, 90, 91. The barracks structure, identified locally as Sutter's east adobe, served many different purposes during its short life, ending as a brewery before its collapse in 1854. For its history and subsequent use of the site, see Marvin Bienes, "East of Sutter's Fort: Block K-L-28–29 in Sacramento, 1840–1955" (Report prepared for Sutter Community Hospitals, 1983; on file, Sacramento City Planning Division); and Kenneth N. Owens, principal investigator, in Peak & Associates, Inc., "Cultural Resources Report: The K-L/28–29th Streets Block" and "Final Report on Cultural Resources within the K-L-28–29 and K-L-29–30 Blocks, Sacramento, California" (Reports prepared for Sutter Community Hospitals and Sacramento City Planning Office, 1984; on file, Sacramento City and County Archives, Sacramento History and Science Division).
 35. Seymour Dunbar, ed., *The Fort Sutter Papers, Together with Historical Commentaries Accompanying Them, Brought Together in One Volume for Purposes of Reference*, 39 vols. in 1 (n.p.: Edward Eberstadt, 1922), vol. 23, MS. 94: "Payroll of Garrison at Ft. Sacramento, entered by Lieut. Missroon, U. S. N." This document states that J. A. Sutter was lieutenant and was paid \$50 a month in cash and \$253.65 in clothing and tobacco. The Indian members of the garrison, on the other hand, got \$12.50 a month in cash and \$37.50 in clothing and tobacco. (A rare publication, with only twenty copies printed, *The Fort Sutter Papers* contain full transcripts, with introductions and editorial annotations, of documents collected by Captain Edward Kern at Sutter's Fort during the period of the American military occupation. The original manuscripts are now located in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)
 36. Dunbar, ed., *Fort Sutter Papers*, MSS. 85, 88, 91, and 93, suggests that while Sutter's Fort was receiving clothing, beef, bread, sugar, tea, tobacco, coffee, and rice from Leidesdorff and Ridley, Captain Kern purchased cattle locally to supply his men with beef. An excellent general overview appears in Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
 37. Sutter, et al., *New Helvetia Diary*, July 21, 1847, p. 61, and January 28, 1848, p. 113.
 38. The lesser-known Torrey's Post near Waco, Texas, is described in Howard R. Lamar, *The Trader on the American Frontier: Myth's Victim* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1977), 13. See also Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas*, English ed. (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935), 191–96; and Benjamin Butler Harris, *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 35–37, 35n.
 39. See James T. Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet: Sir William Johnson of New York* (New York: Harper, 1959).
 40. Wayne E. Stevens, in Johnson and Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. "William Johnson," 10:124–28.
 41. Stevens, in Johnson and Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. "Guy Johnson" and "John Johnson," 10:100 and 103–4.
 42. Lavender, *Bent's Fort*, 154, 311–18, 350–51, 358, 363.

43. See Richard Gill Montgomery, *The White-Headed Eagle: John McLoughlin, Builder of an Empire* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1934).
44. Montgomery, *White-Headed Eagle*, 308–16.
45. Both older and more recent biographies of Sir James Douglas exist. See especially W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); and Margaret A. Ormsby's account in Frances G. Halpenny, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 12 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–90), 10:238–49.
46. The story of Americans in the Fraser River and Cariboo gold rushes is covered in Thomas William Paterson, *British Columbia: The Pioneer Years* (Langley, British Columbia: Stagecoach, 1970), 59ff., 168ff.; and in J. Friesen and H. L. Ralston, eds., *Historical Essays on British Columbia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 113–21.
47. In his perceptive study of the diplomacy leading to the U. S. acquisition of Alaska, Howard I. Kushner demonstrates the importance of the historical record of American expansion in persuading the czar's government to sell Alaska. See *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790–1867* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975).
48. John A. Sutter, Jr., *Statement Regarding Early California Experiences*, ed. Allan R. Otley (Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1943), 11–14, 16, 29. Robin W. Winks, *Frederick Billings: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 40, 45, has new information about Sutter's utterly unbusinesslike behavior after the initial Gold Rush.
49. John Bidwell to Captain W. F. Swasey, March 12, 1888, in Book Club of California, *Pioneers of the Sacramento*, 26–30.
50. George McKinstry to Lt. Edward M. Kern, San Diego, December 23, 1851, in Dunbar, ed., *Fort Sutter Papers*, MS. 30:1–4.
51. Terry G. Jordan brilliantly analyzes the precedents for American cattle ranching in his book *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); but see also Thomas D. Clark and John D. W. Guice, *Frontiers in Conflict: The Old Southwest, 1795–1830* (Albu-

querque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 99–116.

Nunis, "Buffum in California," pp. 114–129.

1. Buffum's regiment was originally called the Seventh Regiment of New York Volunteers. Since only one other regiment was raised in New York, it was designated the First Regiment and saw action at Vera Cruz and Mexico City under General Winfield Scott. New York Governor John Young, successor to Silas Wright, who issued the initial call for seven regiments to be enrolled, was ordered by the War Department in late 1847 to change the designation. As of February 28, 1848, the Seventh became the First Regiment of New York Volunteers and thereafter was so mustered. Donald C. Biggs, *Conquer and Colonize: Stevenson's Regiment in California* (San Rafael, Calif., 1977), 48, note 10.
2. Lillie B. C. Wyman and Arthur C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace, 1806–1899: Her Life and Its Environment* (2 vols., Boston, 1914), 1: 3–12.
3. John G. E. Hopkins, ed., *Concise Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1964), 121; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (21 vols., New York, 1928–1937), III: 241–42.
4. Ibid., 584; Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1971), I: 317–19.
5. Wyman and Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace*, 1: 7.
6. Hopkins, *Concise Dictionary of American Biography*, 67–68. The newspaper still survives in an overseas edition published in conjunction with the *Washington Post* in Paris, France.
7. Biggs, *Conquer and Colonize*, 23–29.
8. Marcy to Stevenson, June 26, 1846, Records of the United States Army Commands, Tenth Military District, 1846–1851, Record Group 393, Microfilm 210, Roll 1, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereinafter cited RG and NA.)

9. The controversy is detailed in John H. Schroeder, *Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846–1848* (Madison, Wis., 1973).
10. Wyman and Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace*, 1: 100.
11. Biggs, *Conquer and Colonize*, 40–42, 74.
12. Ibid., 93, 96.
13. Ibid., 98.
14. House of Representatives, *Executive Document No. 17*, Serial 537, 30th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D. C., 1850), 245 (hereinafter cited *Exec. Doc. No. 17*).
15. Dwight L. Clarke, *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West* (Norman, Okla., 1961), 311–12.
16. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 318; Kearny to Burton, Monterey, May 30, 1847, *Exec. Doc. No. 17*, 310–11.
17. Colonel R[ichard] B. Mason to Burton, June 1; Mason to Brigadier General R[oger] Jones, July 21, 1847, *ibid.*, 324, 331.
18. E. Gould Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, ed. by John W. Caughey (Los Angeles, 1959), 132–33. William H. Rogers of Company A provided a more harsh recollection in a letter dated December 6, 1881. "Besides having to wade ashore he found . . . [the Cuartel] to be a dilapidated old ruin, full of dirt, fleas and vermin, but the boys soon scattered round town, leaving only the guard in possession." Francis D. Clark, *The First Regiment of New York Volunteers*. . . (New York, 1882), 24–25.
19. Don C. Meadows, *The American Occupation of La Paz* (Los Angeles, 1955), 16–18.
20. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., *The Mexican War in Baja California*. . . (Los Angeles, 1977), 28–33.
21. Ibid., 38–40; "Reports of the Battle of La Paz . . ." and Burton to Lieutenant William T. Sherman (official report), January 16, 1848, reprinted in *ibid.*, 158–66.
22. Ibid., 43–48, 167–76, the latter for first hand accounts of the siege at San José del Cabo.
23. Ibid., 48–53, 187–98. Also see K. Jack Baur, *Surfboats and Horse Marines: U.S. Naval Operations in the Mexican War, 1846–48* (Annapolis, Md., 1969), 205–20, for a succinct account of the war in Baja California.
24. Nunis, ed., *The Mexican War in Baja California*. . . 59–60, 73.

25. Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines*, ed. by Caughey, 143–45. The diplomacy that led to the United States' not pressing a claim to Baja California is detailed in Nunis, ed., *The Mexican War in Baja California*. . . 60–67. Also see Eugene K. Chamberlain, "Nicholas Trist and Baja California," *Pacific Historical Review* XXXII (February 1963): 49–64.
26. Mason to Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, August 19; Lieutenant William T. Sherman to Commanding Officer, New York Volunteers, August 7, 1848, *Exec. Doc. No. 17*, pp. [5], 97, 633.
27. Charges and Specifications preferred against 2nd Lieutenant E. G. Buffum, undated, signed by Henry S. Burton. Enclosed in Mason to Roger Jones, Adjutant General, Monterey, August 18, 1848. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780–1917, RG 94, NA.
28. Mason to Jones, Monterey, August 18, 1848, *ibid.*
29. Buffum to Sherman, Monterey, June 15, 1848, *ibid.*
30. Mason, Special Order No. 19, June 16, 1848, *ibid.*
31. Muster Rolls, November/December 1847 and July/August 1848, *ibid.*; "Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth, A Lieutenant in Stevenson's Regiment in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* I (January 1923): 252–53.
32. Muster Roll, October 23, 1848, and Mason, Special Order No. 27, August 21, 1848. RG 94, NA. In his "Introduction" to his book Buffum states he was separated from service on September 18. However, the date of August 21 is given in "Journal of . . . Hollingsworth," 257. But Buffum's date is when he really became a civilian.
33. Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (1850 ed.), xxiii, 3; (1959 reprint), 12, 15.
34. *Ibid.* (1850 ed.), 83–85; (1959 reprint), 65–67. The hapless victims were two Frenchmen, Garcia and Bissi, and a Chileno named Manuel. See also Edwin Gudde, *California Place Names* (Rev. ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 250.
35. New York *Herald*, June 20, 1849, p. 2, cls. 4–6.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers, 1846–1858*, ed. by Helen H. Bretnor (Los Gatos, Calif., 1962), 88–89.
38. Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (1850 ed.), xxxi–xxii; (1959 reprint), 11.
39. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884–1890), VI: 642.
40. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers*, 90.
41. Buffum (1850 ed.), 113–20; (1959 reprint), 91–98.
42. New York *Herald*, June 20, 1849, p. 2, cl. 6. The two proclamations were dated June 3 and 4, 1848, *Alta California*, June 14, 1848, p. 4, cls. 1–3, and in *Exec. Doc. No. 17*, 773–77.
43. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado or Adventures in the Path of Empire* (New York, 1949), 189. The first edition was published in New York by Putnam and in London by George Bentley in late 1850. Subsequently, between eight to ten editions were reissued up to 1882. The original edition was in two volumes; *ibid.*, xv.
44. Bancroft, *California*, VI: 210n, 278n.
45. *Coville's Directory & Gazetteer of the City of San Francisco, 1856–1857* (San Francisco, 1856), 26.
46. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers*, 233.
47. *Ibid.*, 96.
48. Wayne Andrews, ed., *Concise Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1967), 37.
49. Bancroft, *California*, VI: 642; *California Blue Book* (Sacramento, 1907), 273.
50. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers*, 210.
51. John W. Caughey, *California, A Remarkable State's Life History* (3rd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), 218.
52. *Gibier* means wild fowl; *salmi* means a spiced dish of birds or game roasted, minced, and stewed in wine as a ragout.
53. *Alta California*, January 1, 1855, p. 2, cl. 1.
54. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers*, 97.
55. *Alta California*, November 5, 1857, p. 2, cl. 1.
56. New York *Herald*, June 20, 1849, p. 2, cl. 6.
57. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1867, p. 5, cl. 1. The New York *Times* on that same date also recorded his death on page 1, cl. 2.
58. January 5, 1868, p. 4, cl. 2. The *Golden Era's* death date is wrong by implication: "a week ago last Thursday" would be December 26.
59. *Alta California*, December 29, 1867, p. 2, cl. 1; *Bulletin*, December 30, 1867, p. 2, cl. 5 (both give the erroneous date of death as December 26). The notices comment that after taking up his post in Paris he served "as correspondent of the *Alta California*, the New York *Herald*, and other leading journals."
60. Bancroft, *California*, II: 736.

Cherny, "Minorities in San Francisco,"
pp. 130–141.

1. R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish: 1848–1880* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 6.
2. Stan Hugill, *Sailortown* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1967), 207.
3. Earl Raab, "From the American Scene: 'There's No City Like San Francisco': Profile of a Jewish Community," *Commentary* 10 (October 1950): 369–78, esp. 369.
4. Howard S. Becker and Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Culture of Civility," in Howard S. Becker, ed., *Culture and Civility in San Francisco* (n.p.: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), 4–19, esp. 5–6. In their study, Becker and Horowitz either completely overlooked or choose to ignore the city's emerging gay and lesbian community.
5. For 1870, the Census Office classified 12,022 San Franciscans as Chinese, 8 as Japanese, 54 as Indian, and 1,330 as "Colored"; see Table 47, Families, Dwellings, and Population in Fifty Principal Cities: 1870, U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 543. For 1880, the Census office classified 21,745 San Franciscans as Chinese, 45 as Japanese, 45 as Indians, and 1,628 others as "Colored" without further specification; see U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Social Statistics of Cities*, 2 pts. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), I: 800. For 1890, the closest approximation for the Chinese population is the number of people classified by the Census Office as "Colored Population of Foreign Parentage," 26,190; see Table 50, Aggregate, White, and Colored Population, Distributed According to Native or Foreign Parentage, For Cities Having 25,000 Inhabitants or More: 1890, U. S. Department of the

- Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), I: 704. For 1900, the Census Office classified 13,954 San Franciscans as Chinese; there were also 1,654 classified as Negro and 1,781 as Japanese; see Table 23, Population by Sex, General Nativity, and Color, for Places having 2,500 Inhabitants or More: 1900, in U. S. Census Office, *Census Reports*, vol. 1, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900: Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I: 610.
6. For general treatments, see Sucheng Chan, *Asian Californians* (San Francisco: MTL/Boyd and Fraser, 1991), esp. chs. 1-4; Victor Low, *The Unimpressable Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Company, Inc., 1982), chs. 1-5; Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), chptrs. 1-3; Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), esp. chptrs. 1, 6-8; Victor G. and Brett DeBary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (Boston: Houghlin Mifflin Company, 1974).
 7. For occupational patterns, see Table 32, Selected Occupations, with Age and Sex and Nativity: The City of San Francisco, State of California, U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Ninth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 799; Table 36, Persons in Selected Occupations in Fifty Principal Cities: 1880, U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), I: 902; Table 118, Total Males and Females 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations Classified by General Nativity, Color, Age Periods, Conjugal Condition, Illiteracy, Inability to Speak English, Months Unemployed, and Country of Birth, for Cities Having 50,000 Inhabitants or More: 1890, U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 2: 728-29. For wages, see U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Statistics of Wages in Manufacturing Industries* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), esp. pp. 15, 41, 379, 435.
 8. See, e.g., Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).
 9. Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1935), 99-104; Saxton, *Indispensable Enemy*, 118-20.
 10. Richard H. Frost, *The Mooney Case* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968); Curt Gentry, *Frame-up: The Incredible Case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967).
 11. Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and General Strikes: San Francisco, 1934* (San Francisco: Hooper Printing Company, 1934), 157, 160-61; Chief of Police William J. Quinn to Lee J. Holman, November 28, 1934, in the library of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (San Francisco), under Local 10, Attacks, Etc., Lee J. Holman: 1934-36.
 12. Samuel Walker, "The City of the Golden Gate," *Scribner's Monthly* 10 (July 1875): 275; Doris Muscatine, *Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), 119, 169, 227.
 13. According to its foremost chronicler, the boundaries of the Barbary Coast were the waterfront on the east, Clay and Commercial streets on the south, Grant Avenue and Chinatown on the west, and Broadway on the north; see Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1933) 99; regarding sailor's fantasies, see Hugill, *Sailortown*, 207.
 14. In 1890, San Francisco counted 3,052 seamen in a work force of 147,269 (2.1 percent), compared to New York's 2,440 in a work force of 677,463 (0.4 percent), or Baltimore's 1,980 (1.1 percent), or New Orleans's 1,298 (1.4 percent); see Table 118, Total Males and Females 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Selected Occupations, *Report on Population: 1890*, 2: 636-37, 638-39, 702-703, 704-705, 728-29.
 15. Carleton H. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 80; Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1850-1950: The Emergence of a Skid Row," *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (Fall 1973): 197-223.
 16. Voting data from Office of the Registrar of Voters, City Hall, San Francisco. For the connection between ethnicity and attitudes on moral reform elsewhere in the nation, see, e.g., Samuel P. Hays, "The Social Analysis of American Political History, 1880-1920," *Political Science Quarterly*, 80 (Sept. 1965): 387-88; Hays, "Political Parties and the Community-Society Continuum," in *The American Party System: States of Political Development*, ed. by William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 158-59; Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 69-91, 144-47; 358-59; Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 69-70, 93-98.
 17. The archives maintained by the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California, the largest repository of its type, has virtually nothing on the period before World War I.
 18. Ruth Rosen has indicated the extent to which lesbian relationships were not considered unusual in brothels; Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 104.
 19. San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, "She Even Chewed Tobacco: A Pictorial Narrative of Passing Women in America," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. by Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: Meridian, 1989), 188. That

- essay also includes a few other accounts of San Francisco "passing women" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they indicate little about larger patterns of toleration or discrimination.
20. Jonathan Ned Katz, ed., *Gay American History: Lesbian and Gay Men in the U.S.A.*, rev. edn. (New York: Meridian, 1992), 50, 575, n. 47; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Friedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 227.
 21. Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1933), 283.
 22. Information on Mona's, a lesbian-oriented club, may be found in S. F. Lesbian and Gay History Project, "She Even Chewed Tobacco," 192-93. The Black Cat was nearby. According to the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society's records, both appeared in the mid-1930s.
 23. Seamus Breatnach, "The Difference Remains," in *The San Francisco Irish: 1850-1976*, ed. by James P. Walsh (San Francisco: Irish Literary and Historical Society, 1978), 148.
 24. Robert A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish: 1848-1880* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 41.
 25. The First National Gold Bank was headed by James Phelan, father and son; see James P. Walsh and Timothy J. O'Keefe, *Legacy of a Native Son: James Duval Phelan and Villa Montalvo* (Los Gatos, Calif.: Forbes Mill Press, 1993), esp. chs. 1-3; for the Nevada Bank, see Oscar Lewis, *Silver Kings: The Lives and Times of Mackay, Fair, Flood, and O'Brien, Lords of the Nevada Comstock Lode* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.).
 26. Gustav Adolf Danziger, "The Jew in San Francisco: The Last Half Century," *Overland Monthly* 25 (1895): 397-98.
 27. H. Quigley, *The Irish Race in California, and on the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1878), 375-82; Irena Narell, *Our City: The Jews of San Francisco* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981), 88-102; William Bronson, *Still Flying and Nailed to the Mast: The First Hundred Years of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), 22, 56.
 28. Harriet Rochlin, "'We do Things Differently Here,'" *The Californians* 4 (1986): 12.
 29. Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*, 186-87.
 30. Danziger, "The Jew in San Francisco," 399.
 31. K. M. Nesfield, "The Jew from a Gentile Standpoint," *Overland Monthly* 25 (1895): 418.
 32. Rochlin, "'We do Things Differently Here,'" 12.
 33. For Buckley, see William A. Bullough, *The Blind Boss and His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979); for Ruef, see Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco: The Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), and also James P. Walsh, 'Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco,' *California Historical Quarterly* 51 (1972): 3-16; for Phelan, see Walsh and O'Keefe, *Legacy of a Native Son*; for Kahn, see Burton Alan Boxerman, "Kahn of California," *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (1976): 340-51.
 34. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. by Henry Reeve, rev. by Francis Bowen, ed. by Phillips Bradley, 2 vols., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945), 2:227.
 35. Charles C. Hoag, ed., *Our Society Blue Book: 1902* (San Francisco: Charles C. Hoag, Publisher, 1902), 303-14; the Cosmos Club, ranked third in the *Blue Book*, included few names from the top ranks of the city's establishment, but did include both Catholics and Jews.
 36. *The Blue Book and Club Directory: 1921* (San Francisco: Chas. C. Hoag, Publisher, 1921), 185-205.
 37. Narell, *Our City*, 404.
 38. Tony Fels, "Religious Assimilation in a Fraternal Organization: Jew and Freemasonry in Gilded-Age San Francisco," *American Jewish History* 74 (1985): 377, 379.
 39. Mary Ann Irwin, "'Going About and Doing Good': The Lady Managers of San Francisco" (M. A. thesis, San Francisco State University, in progress).
 40. Ruth Shackelford, "To Shield Them From Temptation: 'Child-Saving' Institutions and the Children of the Underclass in San Francisco, 1850-1910," (Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1991), 487.
 41. Joseph Brushner, S. J., *Consecrated Thunderbolt: A Life of Father Peter C. Yorke of San Francisco* (Hawthorne, N. J.: Joseph E. Wagner, Inc., Publishers, 1973), 22. Space does not permit a full discussion of the APA in San Francisco, a topic treated at length by others; see treatments listed in note 46, below.
 42. See, e.g., Roger Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), esp. chptr. 5; see also Rochlin, "We Do Things Differently Here."
 43. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 76, 77, 80.
 44. The data were collected by the various religious groups for the Census Office. Different bodies counted their membership differently, e.g., for 1890 and 1906, Catholics returned a count of all those baptized as Catholics (which the census office then reduced by 15% in both the 1890 and 1906 censuses), Protestants returned those eligible to receive communion (i.e., usually above the age of twelve or so), and Jews returned only heads of families. For 1890 and 1906, therefore, I calculated percentages according to appropriate bases: for Catholics (restored to a full 100%), the entire population of the city; for Protestants, the population over the age of twelve, for Jews, the number of families (although the change from 1890 to 1906 and 1916 suggest that the Jewish data is not reliable for one or the other). For 1916, the census convinced religious bodies to return a count for only those members over the age of 13; all percentages are based on this number for the population over that age.

Table 7, *Statistics of Churches in the United States: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 98-99; Table 95, *Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), I: 958-60; Table 8, *Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, II: 130*; Table 4, *Special Reports: Religious Bodies: 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), I: 299-300; Tables 9 and 96, *Twelfth Census of the United*

States Taken in the Year 1900: Population (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), II: 143, 607; Table 63, *Religious Bodies: 1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), I: 243-244; Table II, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Abstract of the Census: Supplement for California* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 611.

45. In 1890, for example, those whose parents were born in Ireland, Germany, French Canada, Bohemia, France, Hungary, Italy, and Russia made up 43 percent of the total population. Excluding 20 percent of the Irish (12,905 as compared to a total of 3,421 reported members of all Presbyterian churches) and a quarter of the Germans (11,831 as compared to 2,221 reported members of Evangelical and Lutheran churches)—both probably overestimates of the proportion of Protestants—brings the non-Protestant white proportion of the total population to 35 percent. If Catholics, Orthodox, and Jews made up only 20 percent among whites whose parents were born in Great Britain, English Canada, and the United States, or who were of mixed parentage or of unidentified foreign parentage (36 percent of the total), that brings the non-Protestant white total to 42 percent. Nine percent of the total population in 1890 was described by the census as “colored, of foreign parentage,” nearly all of whom were Chinese, and very few of whom were Protestants. Adding this brings the total to 51 percent. In addition, Scandinavians made up 3 percent of the total population, and nearly 40 percent of them were sailors, a group not known for its religious piety. In addition to sources cited in the previous note, see Tables 50 and 52, Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), I: 704, 708.

46. Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964); Joseph S. Brusher, “Peter C. Yorke and the A. P. A. in San Francisco,” *Catholic Historical Review* 37 (1951): 129-50. For an

argument that the A. P. A. never posed a serious threat to San Francisco’s Catholics, see James P. Walsh, *Ethnic Militancy: An Irish Catholic Prototype* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1972), esp. 14-20. It is of interest to compare the data for San Francisco, an ostensibly Catholic city where the A. P. A. never posed a significant political threat, to that for Omaha, which had a much smaller Catholic population and where the A. P. A. won complete political control of city government for a time in the early 1890s:

	San Francisco	Omaha
Catholic	23.6%	5.5%
Jewish	7.8	4.6
Methodist	1.8	2.0
Presbyterian	1.4	2.1
Congregational	0.9	1.1
Baptist	0.5	1.1
Total, these four	4.6	6.3
Episcopal	1.0	1.1
Lutheran	0.9	1.2
All others	1.0	2.0
Total church members:	38.9	20.7

In Omaha, unlike the situation in San Francisco, the A. P. A. may also have briefly gained support from the city’s Jewish community, when Edward Rosewater threw the editorial support of his *Omaha Bee* behind the A. P. A. candidates as a tactic to defeat an incumbent Democratic organization. In San Francisco, by contrast, Jewish leaders joined Catholics in condemning the A. P. A.

Righter, “Wind Energy in California,” pp. 142-155.

1. Energy estimate from “Comments of the American Wind Energy Association,” submitted by Michael Marvin to the Texas Public Utilities Commission, January 15, 1993. Transcript copy provided by AWEA, Washington, D. C.
2. T. Lindsay Baker, *A Field Guide to American Windmills* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), is the definitive history of American water-pumping windmills. The case for the development of the Amer-

ican windmill in California is developed by Roger S. Manning, “The Windmill in California,” *The Journal of the West* 14 (July 1975): 33-39.

3. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Year Book*, 1921, Table 417, p. 788.
4. Statistics are difficult to find. Marcellus Jacobs, president of the Jacobs Wind Electric Company, proved secretive regarding statistics. He made a number of model changes, and after each change he modified the serial number system. A rough estimate of production units would be 30,000. R. E. Weinig, the general manager of Wincharger Corporation, testified in 1945 that some 400,000 Wincharger plants operated worldwide, of which about 25,000 were large plants. A number of other companies manufactured small units, suitable to power a few electric lights and a radio. See “Interview with Marcellus Jacobs,” *Mother Earth News* 24 (November 1973): 57; and testimony of R. E. Weinig, Wincharger Corporation, in U. S., House of Representatives, *Hearings on Rural Electrification Planning*, H. R. 1742, Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, June 13, 14, 15; October 16, 17, 18, 19, 30; November 2, 1945, p. 114.
5. James Clebourne, “Reaping the Wind,” *Palm Springs Villager Magazine* (April 1957): 13.
6. Paul W. Travis, “The Wind Machine in the Pass,” *Westways* 48 (February 1956): 12.
7. “Electrical Current From the Wind,” *Compressed Air Magazine* 33 (April 1928): 2380.
8. Clebourne, “Reaping the Wind,” 13.
9. Ibid.; Tom Patterson, “Out of the County’s Past,” *Palm Springs Enterprise* (January 12, 1979), B-4; Walter Ford, “Power From the Wind,” *Desert* (June 1975): 22-23.
10. Clebourne, “Reaping the Wind,” 13; Ford, “Power From the Wind,” 22-23.
11. Tom Patterson, “Out of the County’s Past,” *Palm Springs Enterprise* (January 12, 1979), p. B-4; Clebourne, “Reaping the Wind,” 13.
12. The wind generator rusted away until claimed for scrap metal during World War II. The foundation still remains. It is approximately one-quarter mile NW from the rest stop on the north lanes of Interstate 10 in San Geronio Pass. Information from an interview with Robert Scheffler, Southern Cali-

- fornia Edison Company, November 19, 1992; and letter from Shefrah Ann Rozenstein to Nancy Robinson, Reference Librarian, Palm Springs Library, May 21, 1989, in Clipping File, Wind Energy, Palm Springs Library.
13. Lewis Mumford, "California and the Human Horizon," in *The Urban Prospect* (New York, 1968), 9.
14. *Wind Energy Program Progress Report*, January 1, 1980 (California Energy Commission, 500-80-001), p. 1.
15. "The California Covenant," *Windpower Monthly* 5 (July 1989): 20. This article indicates that some twenty states offered tax incentives for wind energy development, five (Arkansas, Hawaii, North Dakota, Ohio, and Oklahoma) more lucrative than California. But none could provide the necessary wind data on possible sites.
16. Interview with Ty Cashman by author, November 19, 1992. Cashman manned the "wind desk" at the Office of Appropriate Technology.
17. California. *Statutes and Amendments to the Codes*. 1978, Volume 3, Chapter 1159, p. 3557.
18. "WindMaster Partners 1983-1: A California Limited Partnership," Confidential Private Offering Memorandum, BEPW Development Corporation, June, 1983, pp. 6-7. Copy in the possession of the author. Analysts today recognize that providing tax incentives for installed capacity rather than production led to shoddy machines. Today the most recent (1992) federal energy law allows for a 1 1/2 cent per kilowatt hour subsidy for actual production of electricity from newly-installed turbines.
19. Robert Teitelman, "Technology," *Forbes* (July 18, 1983): 134.
20. Richard F. Hirsh, *Technology and Transformation in the American Utility Industry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 155.
21. This story is told with great detail by David Roe, an attorney for the Environmental Defense Fund, in his book *Dynamos and Virgins* (New York: Random House, 1984).
22. *Ibid.*, 196-97.
23. Rick Gore, "Conservation: Can We Live Better On Less?" in Special Report on Energy, *National Geographic* (February 1981): 44.
24. Roe, *Dynamos and Virgins*, 101.
25. U. S. Code. Congressional and Administrative News, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1978, *Laws*, Vol. 2, Public Law 95-617, Sec. 210.
26. Quote from a congressional staff member in Richard Munson, *The Power Makers* (Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Press, 1985), 38.
27. U. S. Code. Congressional and Administrative News, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1978, *Legislative History*, Vol. 6, pp. 7831-33.
28. See "PURPA Handbook for Independent Electric Power Producers," pamphlet published by the American Wind Energy Association, 1992; also Frederick March, et al., *Wind Power for the Electric-Utility Industry* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath & Co., 1982), 77-82, for a discussion of the PURPA law and the concept of "avoided costs."
29. *International Market Evaluations: Wind Energy Prospects*, California Energy Commission, P500-87-004, 1987, p. 18.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-16.
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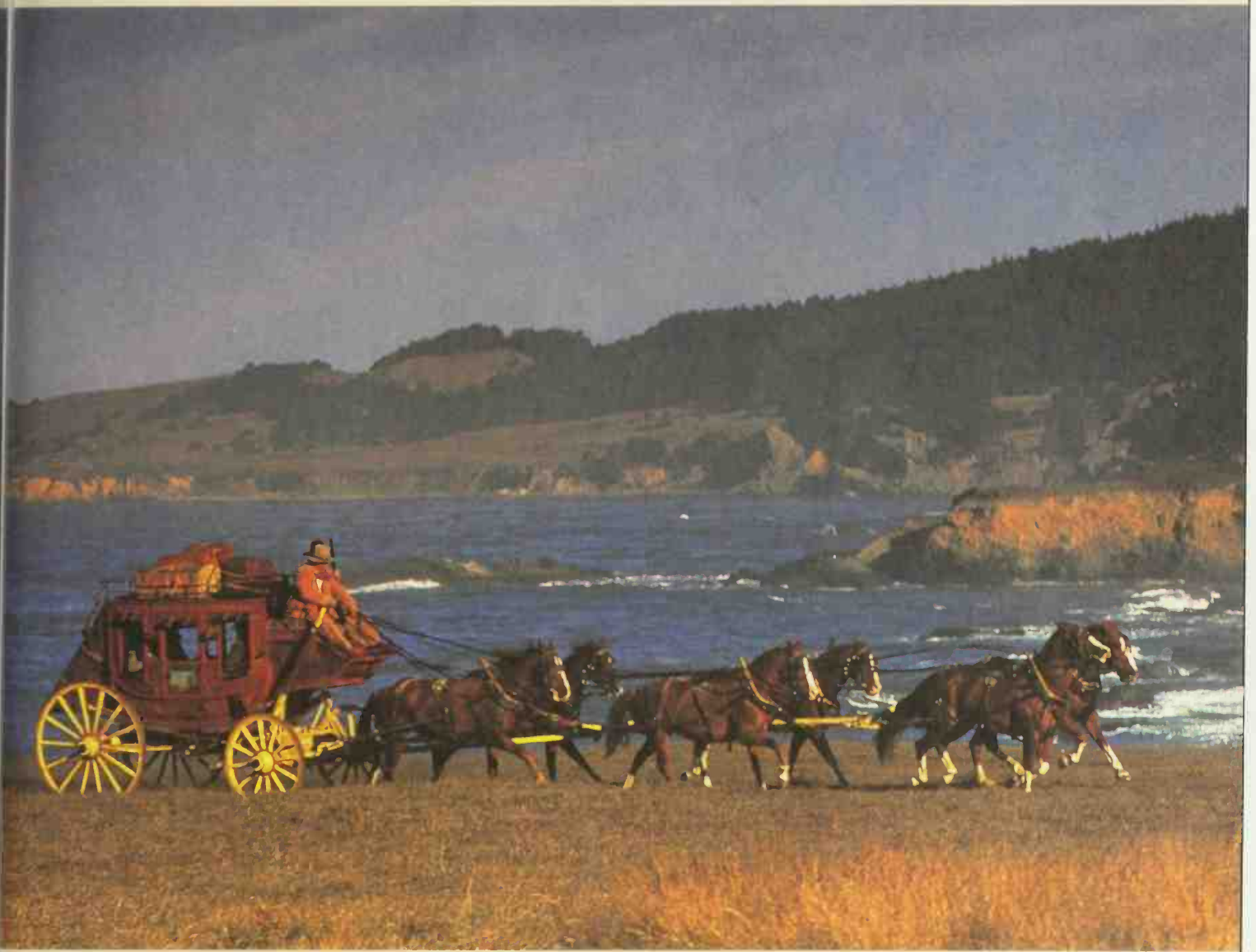
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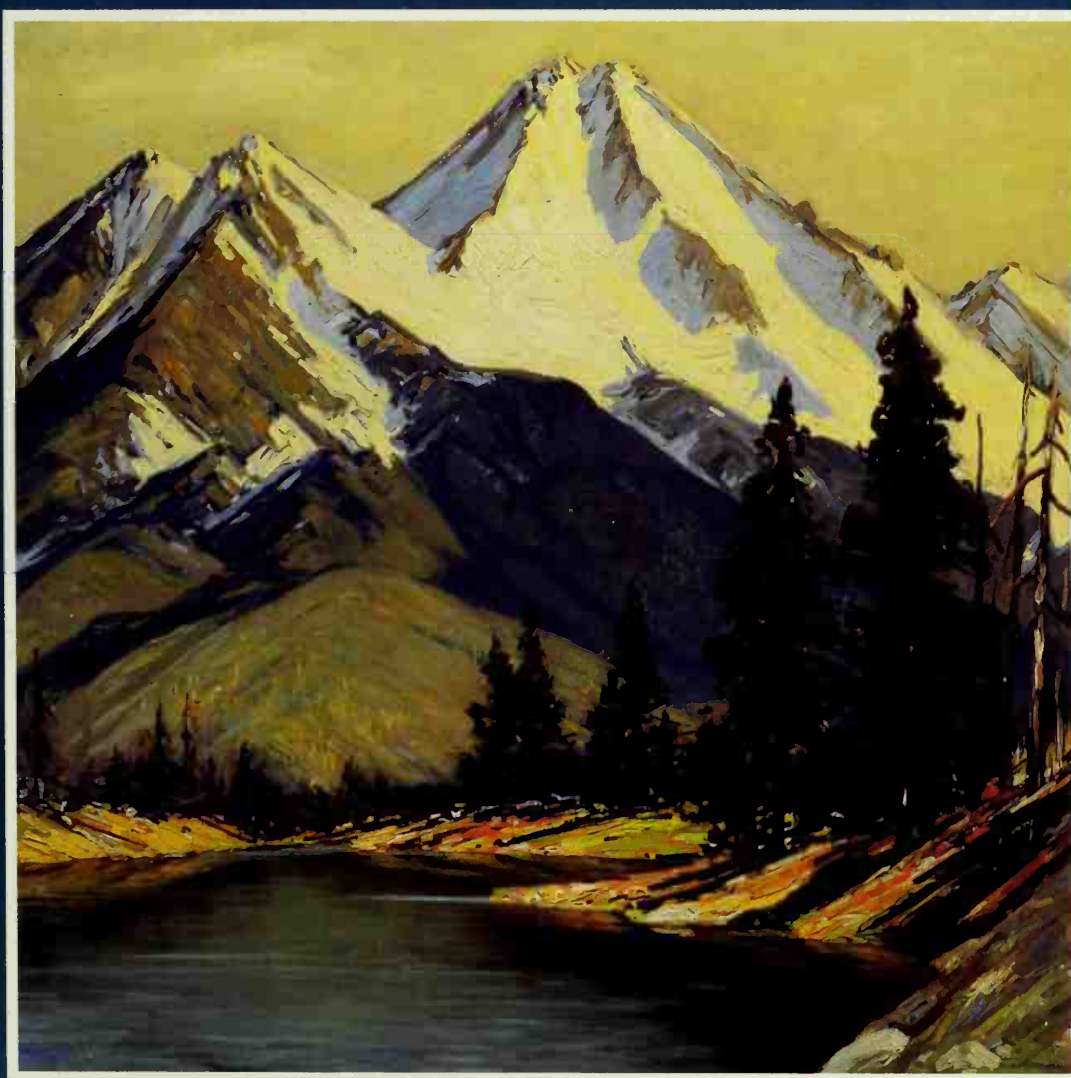
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Californians: Alfred R. Mitchell, 1888–1972

Alfred R. Mitchell was born in York, Pennsylvania, on June 18, 1888. A sympathetic home environment and a supportive mother fostered an early interest in art for the son of George Washington and Carrie Drake (née Swayze) Mitchell. When the family moved to New Jersey, the young boy began sculpting animals from the clay he found along a brook near his home.

Experiencing a number of jobs as a peripatetic youth, Mitchell arrived in San Diego in 1908 after a stint as a stage coach driver between Mina, Nevada, and Atwood, Oregon, during the gold mining days. He credited this experience for his love of the landscape, which became his choice of subject matter.

In 1913, Mitchell began seriously pursuing an art career with local landscapist Maurice Braun. Subsequently, Braun recommended further study at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, considered the best art school in America at the time. Here such well known instructors as Daniel Garber, Arthur B. Carles, and Edwin H. Blashfield became Mitchell's lifelong friends as well as teachers.

In San Diego, Mitchell became a pioneer painter of the California landscape. He received a silver medal at the Panama-California Exposition in 1916, the first of many awards he would earn during his career. While on a Cresson European Travel Scholarship in 1921, the young artist and his companions were occasionally joined by the eminent Boston painter, William Paxton, who also became a lifetime friend.

On the American art scene modernism was challenging traditionalism. While voicing his support of the new trends, accepting the liberation of brush and color initiated by the French Impressionists, Mitchell nonetheless remained a realist. Unlike many of the early California landscape painters who captured the atmosphere and mood of the picturesque landscape, the young artist painted nature boldly in brilliant color and dramatic contrasts, qualities that set his work apart from his contemporaries and that were cited by critics for their jewel-like appearance.

A catalyst in San Diego, in addition to a busy exhibition schedule, Mitchell founded a number of area art guilds, taught privately and in public schools, and served as an administrator of several important institutions, including as a board of trustee member of the San Diego Museum of Art. He helped shape the art community of San Diego in no small measure through the many students who passed through his classes. While honored to have been asked, the artist declined the directorship of the Kansas City Art Institute in the late 1930s. By 1950, Mitchell assumed the mantle of his mentor Maurice Braun as dean of San Diego artists. He died in November 1972, after a distinguished career.

For a more complete account of the life and art of Alfred R. Mitchell, see Thomas R. Anderson and Bruce Kemerling, *Sun-*



The artist Alfred R. Mitchell, shown in his favorite portrait, taken by one of his students. Photograph courtesy Mrs. Mary Sadler.

light and Shadow: The Art of Alfred R. Mitchell, 1888–1972 (San Diego Historical Society, 1988); Martin E. Petersen, *Second Nature* (San Diego Museum of Art and Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1991); and Martin E. Petersen, *Plein Air Painters of California: The Southland*, ed. Ruth Westphal, (Irvine: Westphal Publishing, 1982).

MARTIN E. PETERSEN
Curator of American Painting
San Diego Museum of Art

FRONT COVER: Alfred R. Mitchell (1888–1972), *Early Morning—Mt. Shasta*, ca. 1932, oil on canvas laid down on board, 42½ x 42½ in. Courtesy Jon E. Icardo Collection, La Jolla. BACK COVER: Alfred R. Mitchell (1888–1972), *The Canyon*, ca. 1927, oil on canvas laid down on plywood, 34½ x 34½ in. Courtesy First Unitarian Universalist Church, San Diego.

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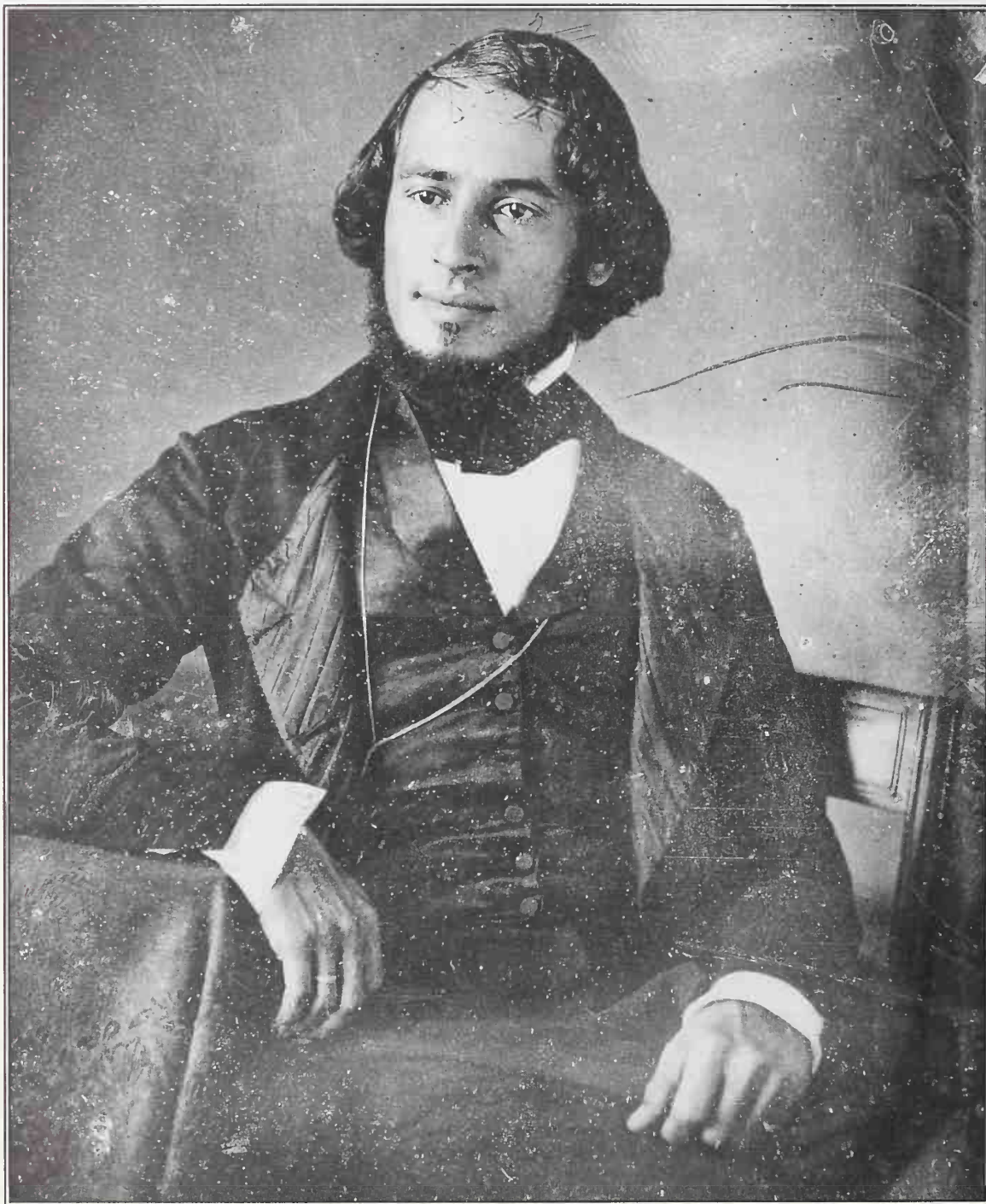
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Solomon Nuñez Carvalho (1815–1897), *Self-Portrait*, daguerreotype, ca. 1848. When he accepted Frémont's invitation to join the privately funded fifth expedition in the autumn of 1853 to cross the southern Rockies in winter, Carvalho, 38, was an established eastern artist, portraitist, and photographer. Among his most famous portraits were Pío Pico, Brigham Young, and Abraham Lincoln. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

TWO EXPLORERS ON THE TRAIL TO CALIFORNIA

Carvalho and Frémont

by Andrew F. Rolle

In 1853, en route to California while exploring the American West, the lives of two talented southerners became closely intertwined. Solomon Nuñez Carvalho and John Charles Frémont had been born within two years of each other: Carvalho in 1815 at Charleston, South Carolina, and Frémont in 1813 in Savannah, Georgia. Each grew up in Charleston, where Carvalho's father, a Sephardic Jew, helped to found its Beth Elohim reformed synagogue. Carvalho's ancestry was Spanish-Portuguese, while Frémont was the illegitimate son of a wandering French-Canadian father and a disgraced Virginia-born mother. She had abandoned her husband. Both men, thus, started life apart from the dominant society of the South.

The adventurous Frémont would become a kind of James Bond of the nineteenth century. He was almost constantly in trouble with his superiors, usually because of a series of daredevil, indeed impetuous, acts. As Frémont was already a well-known explorer when they met, Carvalho came to view him as a brave leader who could do no wrong. They encountered one another for the first time in August 1853, when "the Pathfinder" was readying his fifth, and last, expedition. Both were about forty. Carvalho was also well established, not as an explorer, but as an artist-photographer. Like others before him, Carvalho grew eager to join up with his magnetic new hero.

Carvalho knew that Frémont and his powerful father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, wanted a future transcontinental railroad to

run between the 37th and 39th parallels, far to the north of the slave-holding states of the South. Long before the Civil War, both Carvalho and Frémont shared a deep hatred for slavery in any form. This was one of the latter's most admirable traits, though it would, within the next three years, lead to his loss of the presidency of the United States.

From New York City, where he engaged Carvalho as artist and daguerreotypist, Frémont moved to the Missouri River frontier, where he planned the details of his fifth expedition. At Westport (later Kansas City) he put together a party that numbered twenty-two men. It included ten Delaware and four Wyandot Indians, as well as two Mexican packers and fifty pack animals, some of which were to carry the expensive new photographic equipment that Frémont provided his new colleague. Carvalho's daguerreotype images were intended to document what the two men encountered en route. In his expedition of 1842, Frémont had failed in efforts to photograph landmarks along the Oregon Trail, as the great naturalist Alexander von Humboldt had counseled.

Now, in the late summer of 1853, Frémont and Carvalho traveled together southwestward to Bent's Fort, maneuvering the Roubidoux Pass through deep snow, eventually crossing the Grand and Green rivers. During Frémont's fourth expedition he had already been over some of this remote terrain. On that misguided venture, he had lost a third of his men. The fourth expedition, conducted in midwinter, had proved to be an utter disaster. Controversy

followed, for some of his men were later charged with having engaged in cannibalism.

Conditions on the fifth expedition would also become severe. Carvalho chronicled the group's harrowing experiences in his book, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (1857). This was then, incidentally, the only extended narrative of western travel by a Jewish author, and it remained the one available account of the fifth expedition, since Frémont was prevented from writing his own narrative because of his preparations to run for the presidency in 1856.¹ Carvalho based his volume on letters sent back home to his wife, Sarah Solis of Philadelphia, and to eastern friends, as well as upon a journal in which he had recorded the daily hardships he endured.

The city-bred artist, who unfortunately possessed a rather soft physique, quickly learned about the rigors of trail life. On one occasion, when the party tried to negotiate a steep slope above the Gunnison River, their lead mule slipped on the ice and plunged into a deep chasm, pulling most of the other mules and horses to the bottom, hundreds of feet below. After the last of the animals gave out, conditions became truly grim. On some days the temperature plunged to thirty degrees below zero. Carvalho, burdened by his heavy equipment, had trouble keeping up with the party.

Beyond Green River, Frémont lost a man to frostbite and starvation. The rest of his group survived only by devouring their remaining horses and mules. On February 8, 1854, bedraggled and exhausted, Frémont and Carvalho were lucky to stumble onto the tiny outlying Mormon settlement of Parowan in today's southern Utah.

During this first part of the journey, which had already lasted five months, Carvalho had lost fifty pounds, or a third of his normal weight. His clothes were in tatters and his fingers and feet frostbitten. Because he was suffering from severe malnutrition, diarrhea, and scurvy, the Mormons loaded the emaciated Carvalho onto a flat wagon and took him northward to Salt Lake City. There he not only received permission to winter among the Mormons but was befriended by no less a figure than Brigham Young, president of their church.

Meanwhile, Frémont had struggled on across the

barren Nevada deserts toward California. Upon reaching the Sierra Nevada range of mountains, the snow was so deep that he could not traverse the central route over the Sierra crest. Instead, he moved southward either to Walker or Bird Spring pass. After reaching the upper Kern River, he went northwestward, via today's Stockton, to San Francisco.

Back in Salt Lake City, Carvalho, like Sir Richard Burton, another observing stranger among the Mormons, would write of fascination with that new settlement. But the unique marital practices of the Mormons did not square with Carvalho's religious upbringing. The last part of his book includes strong criticisms of polygamy. He recorded several stories about the plight of women who involuntarily were tricked into becoming "plural wives."

The enterprising but destitute Carvalho, however, was more concerned with earning sorely-needed money. He did so by painting portraits of Mormon *prominenti*, including Brigham Young, as well as the Utah chief Walkara. With the proceeds, Carvalho outfitted himself with a sturdy "riding mule," as well as provisions with which to continue on to the Pacific Coast. As soon as Carvalho had regained his strength, Young, in fact, volunteered to accompany him along part of the route southwestward, visiting several Mormon communities, including Parowan, where Frémont and Carvalho had been rescued.

En route to California, one of the prophet's several wives served up venison, coffee, eggs, and pies on a "moveable table" with a white table cloth. But such outdoor opulence did not last long. After Carvalho left Young behind, the dusty trail farther west became dry and dangerous. One day Carvalho counted forty dead oxen alongside discarded wagons, chairs, and even a feather bed. He recorded not seeing "one blade of grass" for fifty miles. Traveling via a watering hole called Las Vegas, Carvalho finally reached another remote Mormon settlement, San Bernardino.

✕ Now he was in languid southern California, a softer land of vines, olives, figs, and oranges. In June of 1854, when he finally arrived in sleepy Los Angeles, Carvalho had been gone from the East Coast for nine months. Although there was then no real Jewish community in the tiny pueblo, he did find some

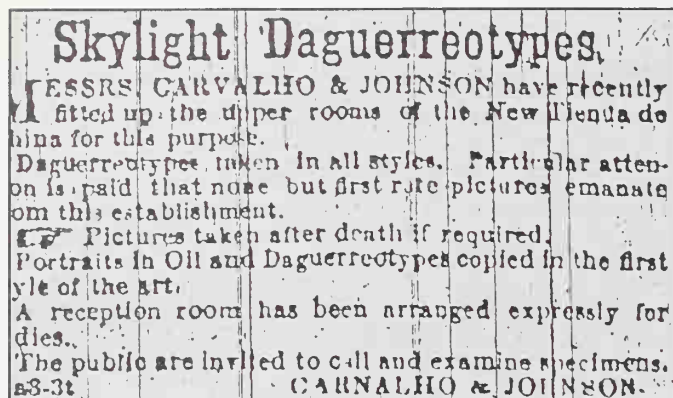


An image taken from Frémont's *Memoirs* (1887) shows the expedition—most likely the fifth—beside the bank of the Uncompaghe River in southwestern Colorado. Severe weather and a shortage of food made this exploration one of the most difficult Frémont's men would experience. When they finally reached Parowan (Utah), Frémont and Carvalho separated. The expedition continued to San Francisco, while Carvalho arrived in San Bernardino in June 1854. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

thirty Jews living there. As they had no synagogue, he helped to organize the first Hebrew Benevolent Society. To raise funds for indigent or stranded persons, he also raffled off three of his paintings at the Bella Union Hotel. One of these portraits was of California's last Mexican governor, Pío Pico.²

In Los Angeles, as in Salt Lake City, Carvalho met much kindness. When he again fell ill, he was invited

to recuperate on the nearby Dominguez Ranch. While enjoying the local hospitality, he also excavated a mastodon. Among his new Los Angeles friends was a storekeeper, John Labatt, whose establishment, Tienda de China, sold such items as India rubber combs, soap extracts, gold "hunting watches," ox marrow, and bear oil. Labatt advanced money to Carvalho, "a perfect stranger," with which



During his few months in southern California during 1854, Carvalho established a photography studio on the second floor of the Labatt brothers' retail store. His advertisement, reproduced here from the *Los Angeles Star*, describes the services customers could expect. *Courtesy of the author.*

he opened a shop in Labatt's building. Named "Skylight Daguerreotypes," this was the first photography studio in Los Angeles. An advertisement in the *Los Angeles Star* stated that Carvalho's daguerreotypes could be taken even after someone's death, and that "a reception room has been arranged expressly for ladies. The public are invited to call and examine specimens."³

By the time Carvalho had reached Los Angeles, Frémont had already returned to the East Coast by sea. Carvalho, too, sailed for Baltimore late in 1854. He was to spend the rest of his life on the eastern seaboard. At New York and in Philadelphia, he became a strong spokesman for Frémont's 1856 presidential candidacy. Caught up in the national enthusiasm for the explorer, Carvalho's remarks about Frémont were invariably favorable, indeed almost adoring. As he wrote: "I know of no other man to whom I would have trusted my life." He also recalled how he had "impulsively, without even a consultation with my family, passed my word to join an exploring party. . . over a hitherto untrodden country. . . ."⁴ Carvalho's nephew accused him of toadying up to Frémont because he hoped for a government appointment if the explorer were elected president.

As for Carvalho's achievements during Frémont's

fifth expedition, he was the first photographer to record key western scenes. Jessie Benton Frémont described Carvalho's prints as crystal clear, despite the awful climatic conditions he had endured. Carvalho complained that processing photographic images in zero temperatures, while plowing through waist-deep snow, proved almost impossible. Photographic exposures took two hours to complete. Not only were weather conditions adverse, but his equipment had to be lugged along in bulky wooden boxes. Some of Carvalho's plates were developed in the studio of the later famous Matthew Brady, only to disappear.⁵

Carvalho was, nevertheless, one of the true pioneers of field photography. And the unfortunate loss of as many as three hundred of his photographic plates is still a mystery. According to one story, Frémont stored them (as they were his property) in Washington, D. C., at Morrell's "fire proof" warehouse, which burned down in 1881. There is also some possibility that the plates could have been dispersed, perhaps by Brady, and that they still exist. But only one known view—of an Indian village—has survived. A number of Carvalho's outdoor scenes, and his images of individual persons, too, were redrawn by lesser artists, based on his 1853 trail pictures. These distorted art forms would make their way into Frémont's *Memoirs*, which were published in 1887.⁶

Though Frémont's fifth expedition, like his fourth one, could hardly be called a success, both ventures demonstrated the unfeasibility of a winter railroad route through the Sangre de Cristo mountain range of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. No railroad ever went anywhere near his two crossings of the southern Rockies. Regrettably, this territory, as we have seen, remained officially unphotographed.

As for Carvalho, he went on to paint numerous individual portraits. The most famous of these was of President Abraham Lincoln. In 1865 he also completed a portrait of his hero, Frémont, by then a major general in command of the Army of the West until dismissed by Lincoln in the midst of the Civil War. Frémont's public career ended in the 1880s, when he became governor of Arizona Territory. After 1872, Carvalho attained further recognition for his paintings of the island of Martinique. He had returned to



John Charles Frémont (1813–1890), n.d., from a daguerreotype by Matthew S. Brady. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

the West Indies to visit the place where his family lived before settling in Charleston.⁷

Though he operated a photographic studio for many years, Carvalho achieved financial security not through photography, but by dabbling with steam engine designs. This led him to found a lucrative water heating company. He had hoped that Frémont, after election to the presidency, would name him collector of customs at the port of Baltimore. Though disappointed, he remained a man of many interests. In 1858, for example, he framed a document congratulating the Jews of England on their admission to Parliament.

Unfortunately, Carvalho is not widely known today. Yet, like his hero Frémont, Carvalho's was a full and active life. Both were remarkable men whose activities complemented one another. This was in contrast to another member of the fifth expedition, James F. Milligan, with whom Frémont quarreled, dismissing him from the fifth expedition at Bent's Fort.⁸

Though Carvalho and Frémont were dissimilar in many ways, their hegira westward to California deserves to be remembered. Frémont died in 1890 and Carvalho in 1897, each in New York City.⁹ GIS

See notes beginning on page 252.

Andrew F. Rolle, Ph.D., is a historian and educator. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including the recent biographies John Charles Frémont: Character As Destiny (1991) and Henry Mayo Newhall And His Times (1992). Dr. Rolle is a research scholar at the Huntington Library.



Laura De Force Gordon (1838–1907), a noted advocate of both women's rights and spiritualism, came to California from her native Pennsylvania. She first gained fame as a lecturer and journalist, but perhaps her most important legacy was the admission of women into the legal and other professions in the state. In 1879, she and Clara Shortridge Foltz, another feminist pioneer, sued the then all-male Hastings School of Law of the University of California because the school had refused to admit them to the study of law. Winning their lawsuit, they became the first two women to practice before the state Supreme Court. Also in 1879, Gordon succeeded in prodding the constitutional convention to insert a clause in the new state constitution specifying that women in California could engage in any lawful profession or business. *Courtesy California State Library.*

IN THE VAN:

SPIRITUALISTS AS CATALYSTS FOR THE CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

by Robert J. Chandler

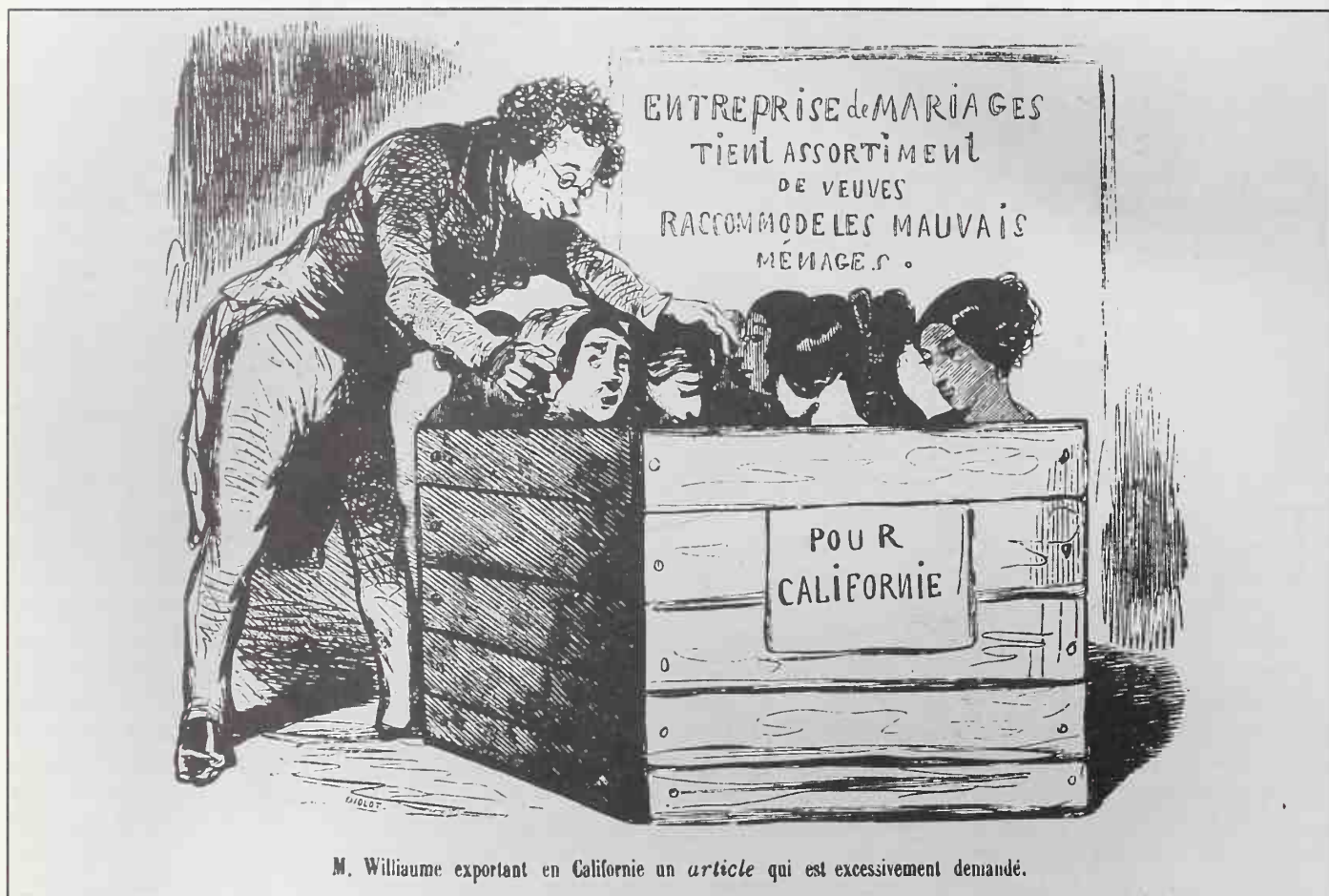
The suffrage women of America always have been afraid to give voice to the 'thank you' in their hearts" to Spiritualism, declared the renowned suffragist Susan B. Anthony on August 22, 1894, "for Spiritualism has been fully as unpopular as women suffrage." When Anthony elaborated that suffragists "feared if they displayed too much gratitude for this endorsement the public would at once pronounce them Spiritualists and they would thus be doubly damned," she summarized the status of California spiritualists and suffragists in the 1860s. In the Golden State, spiritualists were the radicals who brought the unpopular cause of women's suffrage into the popular mainstream.¹

Spiritualism was the belief that the living could communicate with the dead and, more importantly for this discussion, use wisdom gained from all eternity to solve current problems. The California Gold Rush and spiritualism began in the same year. In 1848, Katie and Maggie Fox, two sisters in Rochester, New York, heard spirits "rapping" answers to their questions. The movement struck a chord that vibrated across the land, and, by 1852, spiritualists were proselytizing among Californians. Much confusion existed in the public mind since the movement had no ordained leaders, official organizations, or sacred texts, and most publicity involved contacting departed relatives or viewing a multitude of supposedly "ghostly" happenings. Many, though, dismissed it as a small, radical-fringe religion.²

Until recently, historians have shown little interest in the reform aspects of spiritualism or its con-

nection with the growth of the women's suffrage movement. Historian Ann Braude finally gave spiritualists their due. "Emphasizing freedom of conscience and direct inspiration over religious authority," she argued, spiritualism "became a magnet for social radicals, especially advocates of women's rights and abolition." This religion brought a new sense of wonder. With the shackles of tradition thrown off, spiritualists nourished ideas for a reformed society. They also argued that spiritualism was empirically scientific. If one course did not work, voices from the angel world would chart another.³

Braude's significant *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Woman's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (1989) was forthright on the importance of spiritualists to women's rights. "Not all feminists were Spiritualists," she argued, "but all Spiritualists advocated woman's rights, and women were in fact equal to men with Spiritualist practice, polity, and ideology." Using the weapon of rationality to combat prejudice, middle-class Protestant women could and did become leaders. Those seeking empowerment for a role outside the home found spiritualism congenial. Not surprisingly, Braude concluded, "Spiritualism became a major—if not the major—vehicle for the spread of woman's rights ideas in mid-century America." Californians in the 1860s also recognized this important truth. On April 22, 1864, the *Sacramento Bee*, no friend of the movement, deplored that "the Woman's Rights doctrine" was "the natural result of Spiritualism."⁴



M. Williaume exportant en Californie un article qui est excessivement demandé.

French cartoon, ca. 1850, mocking California's nearly all male gold-rush era population and the wide advertising done at the time to encourage women to emigrate as well. Translated loosely, the caption reads: "Exporting to California an article in much demand." The sign above indicates that the shipment contains an "assortment of widows to restore incomplete households." Indeed, the shortage of women during the early Gold Rush resulted in the partial expansion of their rights, for example, to engage in business and hold property independently and to be able to divorce their spouses more easily. Barriers to full equality remained strong, however, even on the wild mining frontier. Many early Californians opposed equality for women, and some early gains for women's rights were lost in later years. Moreover, women continued to be barred from voting and serving in public office until 1913. *Courtesy California State Library.*

During the 1850s and early 1860s, Californians did not have active anti-slavery societies, such as flourished in the East, which trained women speakers, molded public opinion, and served as launching platforms for suffragist reform. In the Civil War, spiritualists individually spoke out against slavery, but lacked organization. For instance, in late 1861, journalists James J. Owen and William N. Slocum loudly called for abolition, while in early 1862 Eliza Farnham and Frances Green McDougall took up the cause. In late 1863, Emma Hardinge arrived from the East and immediately attacked the South's "peculiar institution." The next year she stumped the state for Abraham Lincoln, and before leaving in December, organized the Friends of Progress in San Francisco.⁵

California spiritualists gained a sense of purpose, unity, and organization out of the national crisis and fought for new reforms. They led the drive for women's rights, especially suffrage, which gradually gained broader-based public support. Women realized that, in this era of limited government, state laws had the most impact on their lives, whether regulating the economic environment or protecting basic social and property rights. Only voters put friends in office. Unionist newspapers began to comment favorably on women suffrage, while non-spiritualist women became leaders in the movement. Democrats, in contrast, generally condemned suf-



J. J. Owen, Santa Clara County pioneer, editor, and political leader, was a long-time advocate of spiritualism and women's suffrage. *Courtesy California State Library.*

frage as another one of the radical "isms" that was ruining the country. By 1870, Golden State suffragists had formal organizations, a weekly paper, and support in both parties. As a measure of spiritualist influence in the new movement, opponents charged that suffragists favored "free love," which was also the most damaging epithet used against spiritualists.

It was in January 1865 that spiritualists launched the fledgling drive for broadened suffrage. As with the emancipation of Confederate slaves, spiritualist J. J. Owen, a Republican assemblyman in 1863 and 1864, was "In the Van" advocating rights for southern freedmen. On January 5, 1865, his *San Jose Mercury* became the first newspaper in California to call for black suffrage. Four days later, Mrs. C. M. Stowe responded to Owen's editorial by recommending the reform be broadened to include women. "I know I am entering on a subject as yet little agitated," she explained on January 9, "but I am a woman and for women I must speak." She continued eloquently: "Let justice be done to all—to the colored race, and to woman also. Give her a higher ambition than that of playing the doll and setting man-traps—and ambition to develop and expand all the faculties which by nature she is entitled." Stowe closed by demanding "Enfranchise woman." In reply, the thirty-seven-year-old Owen agreed to the "abstract principle," but quibbled over practicality. Stowe, who had arrived overland in the fall of 1864, was a "Clairvoyant Physician" and speaker. In 1867, for instance, she lectured on spiritualist truths throughout northern California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, while her husband, A.C. Stowe, presided over the San Jose spiritualist organization.⁶

Owen, meantime, quickly overcame his objections to women's right to vote. Suffragists Stanton and Anthony claimed in their history of the movement that the *San Jose Mercury*, under "its fearless and able editor," was "our friend from the first." In 1878, Owen became president of the state suffrage society, while remaining a strong spiritualist. He presided over the second state spiritualist convention in 1868 and from 1886 until 1890 edited the spiritualist monthly, *Golden Gate*.⁷

California spiritualists launched numerous, though usually short-lived, periodicals. One of the more important early publications was the *Banner of Progress*, which first appeared in January 1867 and ran for nearly two years under the editorship of spiritualist Benjamin Todd. *Courtesy of the author.*



Will S. Green (1833–1905), Sacramento Valley pioneer editor and spiritualist medium, later became one of the important boosters of his region and state. A promoter of irrigation and flood control projects and founder and leader of the Sacramento Valley Development Association, Green in the early twentieth century was also one of the movers in the creation of the California State Chamber of Commerce. When he died, a memorial service was held for him in the Senate Chamber of the California State Capitol in Sacramento. *Courtesy California State Library.*



In spite of Stowe's call to arms, spiritualists had few ways to spread the message. The San Francisco Friends of Progress, though formed in 1864, only burst into public view in early 1866. Mediums Mrs. Ada Hoyt Foye—who ten years earlier had lectured through the Midwest—and Mrs. Laura Cuppy drew large crowds to hear about spiritualism. In retaliation, the San Francisco *Bulletin* led off with a tired fifteen-year-old attack linking spiritualism with insanity. On February 7, according to the press, a forty-one-year-old man went to the Stockton asylum after going mad at a Friends of Progress meeting—the third such case in two weeks. However, as women replaced men as the primary speakers for the controversial movement, foes shifted their charges to sexuality. In 1864, the Sacramento *Bee* had denounced spiritualism for “sundering family ties,” while the goal of women's rights, spiritualism's “kindred evil,” was for woman “to unsex herself as much as possible.” In 1868, Democratic editor Will S. Green, who had been a spiritualist medium in the



1850s, bluntly summed up the new smear: "Free lovism springs up in the footsteps of Spiritualism." Such rumors continued to plague the San Francisco mediums.⁸

As the excitement in San Francisco died down, spiritualists turned their attention again to San Jose. There, from May 25 to 27, 1866, J.A. Atkinson guided the first California Spiritualist Convention. Benjamin Todd and Mrs. C.M. Stowe lectured, while J.J. Owen and W.N. Slocum were on the five-member committee of resolutions, which proposed solid progressive reforms. Intending to benefit African Americans and Chinese, the spiritualists went on record advocating "complete education, for all classes of children and youth, independent of country or color." Politically, they drew on their anti-slavery heritage to support Radical Reconstruction of the South and civil rights for the freedmen. Above all, they strongly demanded woman's rights. They resolved that "Women are entitled by natural rights to equal education and industrial privileges with

men, and to equal enjoyments of the rights of property and citizenship." Though not numerous, the state's several thousand spiritualists brought these feminist concerns before the public masses. In order for opponents to discredit the spiritualist advocacy of woman's economic and political opportunity as "insane" or "licentious," they had to acknowledge these issues.⁹

Through 1866, spiritualism gained in strength, quietly spreading its political message. In November 1866, A.N. Clarke claimed that "there are about 5,000 recognized Spiritualists in this City," at a time when San Francisco had a population of 130,000, "and about as many more who are really Spiritualists, but do not like to acknowledge it." Popularity brought financial rewards. Mrs. Cuppy collected from \$60 to \$85 at her Sunday lectures, Clarke wrote; Mrs. Foye did "a fair business"; Dr. E.G. Bryant healed the sick, "taking from \$80 to \$200 per day"; and Benjamin Todd made \$400 a month lecturing in the country. In January 1867, Todd used his profits

to publish the spiritualist weekly *Banner of Progress*, with William H. Manning as co-editor. Primarily a religious paper, it supported the political and social views contained in the 1866 resolutions. On May 3, 1868, Todd summed up the beliefs of his readers. "Nearly all Spiritualists are radical reformers," he declared, "in the direction of womanhood suffrage, justice to the red man, and the rights of all men and women."¹⁰

However, all was not tranquil in the spiritualist community, and, as it went through cycles of factionalism, reformation, confusion, and invigoration, others began to carry out its political creed. Mrs. Cuppy, Clarke asserted in 1866, was attempting to "break down the Society of the Friends of Progress," which arranged and funded the lecture halls where she spoke, since it would not give her "unlimited" use of its facilities. The society collapsed within a few months. In October 1867, J.A. Atkinson mourned that "San Francisco Spiritualists so far as our old organization are concerned, [had] entirely gone in." In April 1868, however, Mrs. Benjamin Todd and others incorporated the San Francisco Association of Spiritualists. It was the first California group, Todd said, to have the "moral courage" to have "Spiritualist" in its name, instead of the code words "liberal" or "progress." However, the new organization's short life was stormy, while personal friction between Todd and Manning furlled the *Banner of Progress* on October 25, 1868. In November, George C.W. Morgan, a vice president of the association, began the ephemeral *Spiritual Light*. That same month, Angie M. Eager commented gloomily, "We have circles [meetings] sometimes, but not very often." Though lecturers and organizations came and went throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, California spiritualism maintained its vitality. "Each month witnesses the enlargement of its intellectual territory," a Sacramento paper claimed in 1876.¹¹

While spiritualism experienced reversals, the drive for woman's suffrage gained momentum among the general populace. Two years after Stowe's call to arms, on January 20, 1867, the normally hesitant *Alta California* was willing—in an abstract man-

ner—to grant the "simple justice" of "Woman's Suffrage." The editor reasoned, using a device to disarm critics, that "not one woman in a thousand would exercise this power." Boring in, he turned to the common belief that women were the agents of civilization and asked rhetorically, "Is it not right that a woman of education and high character, who pays her taxes to support the Government and educate its children, should have no sort of voice in the choice of those who make, administer and execute the law?" Phrased gently, such a position had weight coming from San Francisco's chief commercial paper.

Newspaper editorials, though, tended to be few, unread, and easily forgotten. As yet, California had no leaders boldly advocating women's suffrage. When they arrived in the late 1860s, many were strong, outspoken spiritualists. Chief among them was Laura E.A. De Force Gordon, who in 1866 was invited by the Friends of Progress to the Golden State. Born in Pennsylvania in 1838, she married army doctor Charles H. Gordon in 1862, and after the Civil War, the Gordons moved westward. In 1866, they were in Denver and in 1867 in Salt Lake City. Charles appeared to be a ne'er-do-well, while Laura lectured on spiritualism and suffrage. In March 1867, a Denver reporter listened to her presentation on the "Elective Franchise" and praised her as "an accomplished and talented woman holding forth on the principal questions of the day." In Virginia City, Nevada, beginning on December 8, 1867, Gordon took a week to explain spiritualism to "densely crowded" assemblies. On December 24, 1867, she arrived in San Francisco, where she would speak on spiritualism and political questions.¹²

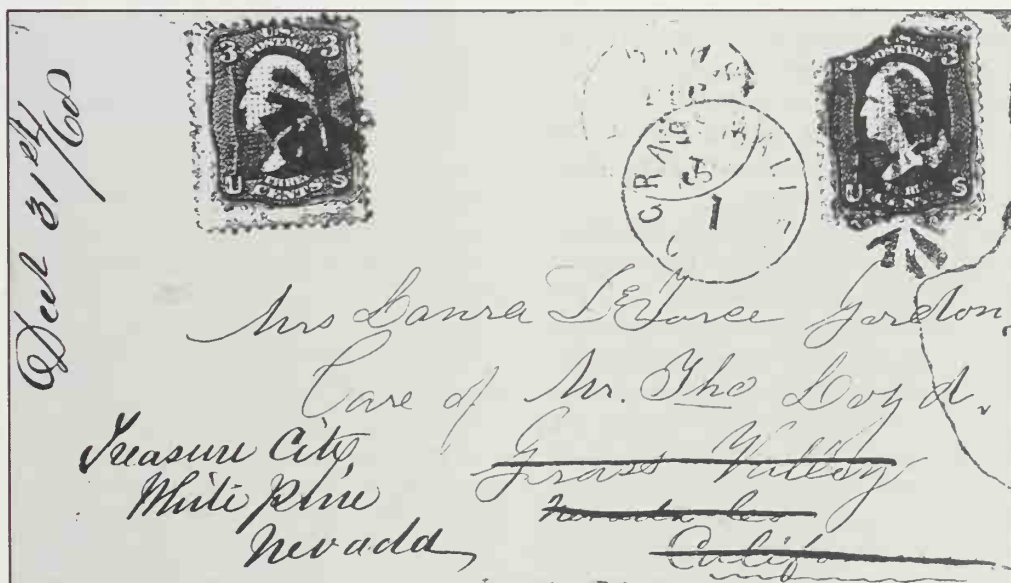
"The first attempt to awaken the public mind to the question of suffrage for women was a lecture given by Laura De Force Gordon in Platt's Hall, San Francisco, February 18, 1868," suffrage activists and historians Stanton and Anthony later recorded. The "tolerably large audience" that the *Alta's* reporter observed, included future suffrage activists Elizabeth T. Schenck, editor of the *Hesperian*, a woman's monthly, in 1862–1863, and teacher Emily Pitts. All paid 25 cents to hear "The Elective Franchise: Who

Shall Vote?" In her address, Gordon reinforced themes raised in the *Alta's* 1867 editorial. Her "leading proposition that suffrage must be based on intelligence to be essentially Republican," that paper reported, "was handled with ability." The *Alta* concluded correctly that "the essay was well received." Although spiritualists did not formally sponsor her talk, her reputation was that of a spiritualist speaker. Spiritualist Gordon had particularly touched women who were the "civilizers" of society: middle class writers, educators, and members of the benevolent societies. Her address brought them together and set the course for political action.¹³

Shortly, Gordon bolstered her appeal when she secured use of the state Senate chamber—as noted lecturers often did—to instruct the legislators gath-

ered in Sacramento. In the debate over the Reconstruction of the South, Gordon affirmed, the right to vote had primacy. Women, though, were worse than neglected. They were classified with "minors, idiots and criminals." Gordon demanded "true democracy," promoting the spirit of the 1866 spiritualist convention. "Let the Constitutions of the several States be amended," she requested, "so that white and black, red and yellow, of both sexes, can exercise their civil rights." Gordon closed by predicting victory: "The idea of woman's suffrage could not be ridiculed down, or argued down, but must finally triumph."¹⁴

However, family matters shortly removed Gordon from further advocacy of both causes. Dr. Charles Gordon sought his fortune in boomtown Treasure



The peripatetic Laura De Force Gordon was often hard for friends and family to reach. This 1868 letter from Wisconsin was addressed to Grass Valley, but finally caught up with her in a Nevada boomtown, where she had gone to join her husband. Courtesy of the author and Brad Casoly.

City, Nevada, where he acquired only pneumonia and would have died except for Laura Gordon's nursing. "Spiritualism faded & subsided here after you left," journalist Alf Dotan wrote her from Virginia City on January 14, 1869. In 1870, however, Laura De Force Gordon settled permanently in California and resumed her work for suffrage and spiritualism.¹⁵

Spiritualists did not need to be converted to women's rights, but the larger society needed to rise to this radical position. During this time of spiritualist organizational collapse, Gordon's opening message in 1868 took root among others. About eleven months after that first speech, one of Gordon's listeners began consistently and loudly advocating woman's suffrage. On January 24, 1869, twenty-five-year-old Emily A. Pitts purchased a half-interest in the *San Francisco Mercury*, a literary weekly, and announced her "crusade" for the vote. "We shall insist upon woman's independence—her elevation, socially and politically, to the platform now solely occupied by men," she proclaimed. "We shall claim for her the right of suffrage." In November, Pitts gained full control of the paper and changed its name to the *Pioneer* to symbolize her "mission."¹⁶

Many women, however, would not join either spiritualist Laura Gordon or journalist Emily Pitts. They wanted an expanded role for women, but did not wish suffrage—yet. They agreed with the *Sacramento Union*, which argued on November 23, 1868, that suffrage lacked "the support of women themselves." The "majority are indifferent," added the *Golden Era*. In that vein, Mrs. Joan Trask wrote from Mud Hill, Nevada County, to the *African American Elevator*, stating that "the arena of political life is not woman's proper sphere." From San Francisco, Mrs. Agnes B. Peterson of the Woman's Co-operative Printing Union argued this moderate position in the columns of Susan B. Anthony's *New York Revolution*. "We do not," she said, "want to vote." This union shared offices and philosophy with the short-lived *El Dorado*, which appeared on February 27,



One of the fascinating characters of nineteenth-century California was Anna Morrison Reed, lecturer, writer, editor, political reformer, and women's rights activist. Her lecture tours while she was a young woman in the late 1860s, during which she often spoke on behalf of equality for women, took her to nearly every county in the northern half of the state. Her lecture in Oroville on March 20, 1869, was described the next day in the *Butte Record*: "Notwithstanding it was a stormy night, she was greeted with one of the finest audiences that had assembled in Oroville for years, and we have yet to hear a single person present who was not captured and delighted by this talented young lady who has grown up in the foot hills of Butte [County], oppressed by poverty. . . . Her subject 'Woman' was handled with extraordinary ability in choice and appropriate language, and with faultless articulation." This photograph was published in the May 1909 issue of the *Northern Crown*, a periodical Reed edited in Petaluma. Courtesy California State Library.

1869, with the declaration that "It is NOT and will NOT be an advocate of 'womens rights.'" The paper, however, did "defend and advance the social and business interests of the women of this coast."¹⁷

Still, these anti-suffrage protestors provided examples of independent women whose actions and accomplishments ran counter to their own conservative rhetoric. Another was Anna M. Morrison, known as the "Butte County Girl." In October 1868, this nineteen-year-old began lecturing throughout the Northern Mines. Traveling with a brother by horseback and stagecoach, she talked on temperance and "Woman, Her Rights and Proper Spheres of Action." Here was a young woman earning from \$5 to \$20 per lecture in the mountain and valley towns, who in 1870 made the respectable sum of \$1,500. Now, with competent women out of the home and before the public eye—including those who did not advocate women's rights—the idea of women's suffrage did not seem as far-fetched as it had before the Civil War.¹⁸

With Gordon temporarily quiet, no other California lecturers stepped forward to wave the suffrage banner before the public. In 1869, a Pennsylvanian brought spiritualists and non-spiritualists together in an active suffrage organization. That summer, Miss Anna Dickinson arrived overland on a speaking tour beginning in San Francisco. Social reform was the topic of her first series of three lectures. On July 12, 1869, she focused on the conflicts associated with Radical Reconstruction and race relations and wondered "What Next?" She drew on a Quaker heritage to denounce the "spirit of oppression" that "lives in the prejudices of color and race; it enslaved the black man in the East; it mobs the Chinaman in the West." While anti-Chinese feeling was building around the state, she called for the Chinese to "be treated kindly, protected, and educated."

Two days later, Dickinson spoke to a predominantly female audience seeking increased educational and occupational opportunities. Her title, "A Struggle for Life," was appropriate. "What is there among you here in California for a woman to do?" she asked. Working conditions were dismal and

slow to improve. (When reformer Henry George surveyed employed women three years later, he found they averaged only \$9 a week. George concluded that "the Chinese make better wages.") No wonder Dickinson thundered in 1869 that the time had come to "stop preaching and commence fighting. Working women have said too much and done too little."

Anna Dickinson gave her solution for the oppressed women in her final talk presented to an "overflowing" crowd on July 16. It was "Nothing Unreasonable," as she titled her lecture, and "a plea," reported the *Alta*, "for woman suffrage as a means of self-protection and an act of justice." Step by step, Dickinson demolished all arguments against suffrage, reported the press, and closed with a "glowing and truly eloquent peroration."¹⁹

Two weeks later, on July 29, 1869, while Dickinson was out touring, spiritualist and non-spiritualist women who had heard Gordon and Dickinson carried the fight to the political arena. Elizabeth T. Schenck, Marietta L. Stow, Emily Pitts, and others formed the Woman's Suffrage Association. It was the first state organization working specifically for the women's vote, and Dickinson gave her blessing before she sailed in September. The association met regularly on Saturdays, made \$325 from lectures that fall, and held a convention in San Francisco from January 26 to January 29, 1870. Laura Gordon actively influenced proceedings, while other women "spoke out with much vigor," the *Alta* remarked, "and occasionally with considerable eloquence." Branch societies burst forth in the cities and towns of California promoting expanded suffrage.²⁰

California spiritualists, such as Addie L. Ballou, Hannah M.P. Brown, Laura Cuppy [Smith], Eliza DeWolf, Ada Foye, Laura De Force Gordon, Elizabeth Anne Kingsbury, F.A. Logan, Frances McDougall, Paulina Roberts, and Caroline Hinckley Spear, as well as John A. Collins, William H. Manning, James J. Owen, and Benjamin Todd, were hard-working and well-traveled speakers in the cause of women's suffrage. For instance, in 1870, Gordon gave over a hundred lectures in California and the next year spoke throughout California,



Spiritualist and author Addie L. Ballou.
Courtesy California State Library.

Nevada, Oregon, and Washington as well. Although several of these orators were recent arrivals and most were not well known to the general public, spiritualists provided nearly all of the suffrage advocates stumping the state. They had the most experience on the lecture circuit.²¹ Largely as a result of spiritualist agitation, in March 1870, 3,300 men and women, mostly from San Francisco, Gilroy, Nevada City, Oakland, Petaluma, Sacramento, San Diego, and Santa Cruz, petitioned the legislature to amend the state constitution "as shall secure to the women of this commonwealth the right of suffrage."

At the same time, the state's officially elected leaders were indifferent, at best, to the call for women's political rights. Republicans focused on increased legal rights for African Americans and Chinese, while Democrats staunchly opposed all extension of the franchise. To many Democrats, woman's rights were just another New England "social perversion" or Republican "ultraism." Though a committee reported back the petition favorably, the Assembly refused to take action. The vote revealed the political alignment on the question of the vote for women, with eight Republicans and sixteen Democrats in favor, and four Republicans and forty-three Democrats opposed. Taking defeat in stride, suffragists met in the legislative chambers, issued an address to the people of the state, and worked for a sixteenth amendment to the United States Constitution to give women the vote nationwide.

Additionally, Republicans Leland and Jane Stanford and Aaron and Ellen Sargent added their support. Civil War governor Stanford was president of the Central Pacific Railroad, while Congressman Sargent soon would be elected to the United States Senate. Some prominent Democrats, including the San Francisco *Examiner's* Benjamin Franklin Washington, also aided the cause of suffrage. The women's suffrage movement, though thus far unsuccessful, now approached legitimacy with some respected mainstream supporters.²²

The campaign after 1870 has aroused the interest of historians then and now. Anthony and Stanton, for instance, began their account of California's drive for suffrage with the Woman's Suffrage Association formed in late 1869. The club

movement, beginning in California in the 1880s, and the broad-based electoral campaign that finally brought success in 1911—making California the sixth state to grant women's suffrage—also have their histories. A subject that has not received much attention, however, is the origin and changing composition of this early enthusiastic, vigorous campaign for the woman's vote in California that culminated in defeat before women diverted their energies to temperance in the late 1870s.²³

In 1872, the initial political campaign for the vote suffered a legal setback. Having failed to achieve their goals through the state legislature, suffragists turned to the courts. Ellen Van Valkenburg of Santa Cruz sued to obtain the right to vote using Susan B. Anthony's argument that the recently adopted Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments had granted this privilege. However, the Democratic chief justice of the state Supreme Court ruled in that year that the amendments banned denial of suffrage only on the basis of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." According to the court, California's "power of exclusion upon all other grounds, including that of sex, remains intact."²⁴

Importantly for this paper, spiritualist participation in the suffrage movement declined after the early 1870s. Demographic changes certainly contributed. In 1870, California's population was much more balanced than it had been in 1860, when adult women made up about one-sixth of the citizens. During the 1860s, the number of women over fifteen years old grew by 78,000. In 1870, they totaled 115,000, and women had a one-to-two ratio to men. This rate of population growth, which increased during the 1870s, was much higher than the rate of spiritualist conversions. Statistically, it led to a greater number of nonspiritualists in the suffrage movement.²⁵

These nonspiritualist women came in through the numerous local associations. As their majority grew, the women's suffrage movement became more conservative. Constant outside opposition to spiritualism made suffragists defensive and curtailed their welcome for spiritualists. Foes trumpeted the smear "free love," which they had used to discredit spiritualism, to divert the drive for suffrage. Such enemies believed women rightists to be morally unfit to vote for or to become elected representatives of



Support from numerous Republican Party leaders, such as Leland Stanford and Aaron A. Sargent (above, ca. 1882–1884), along with their wives, lent respectability to the women's suffrage cause in the 1860s and 1870s. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's address on the subject "Woman Suffrage and Free Love" was advertised in San Francisco's *Morning Call* on July 14, 1871. Despite the protestations of Stanton and other suffragists, the widespread association of their political reform with the promotion of free love doomed the early suffrage movement. *Courtesy of the author.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND FREE LOVE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
will deliver her famous Lecture on

"Woman Suffrage and Free Love,"

In PLATT'S HALL, THIS (FRIDAY) EVENING, July 14th, commencing at 8 o'clock.

Tickets at the door, 50 cen's; reserved seats, 25 cents extra, to be had at the door on Friday, from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M. Doors open at 7 o'clock. jyl4 1t

the people. They were quick to call attention to events where spiritualists, suffragists, and free lovers came together. In January 1870, just before the first suffrage convention assembled, the *Golden Era*—a family paper counting large numbers of women among its contributors and readers—set the tone. "Woman's Rights, if not a synonym for Free Love," it charged, "is tinctured with it."²⁶

The notorious Crittenden-Fair case made accusations of "free love" even more damaging. On November 3, 1870, Laura D. Fair became distraught over repeatedly broken promises of marriage from her lover, attorney Alexander Parker Crittenden, and shot him in front of his wife and children. The scandal of the affair alone brought great excitement, while titillating testimony and lively love letters disclosed at the trial lent a circus atmosphere. The remarried women's rights activist Emily Pitts-Stevens and other suffragists daily attended the month-long trial in March and April 1871, giving Fair unwavering support and criticizing the proceedings for "masculine" bias. The *Golden Era* saw the matter differently, and condemned "their avowed sympathy with the prisoner in her bold enunciations of Free Love doc-

trines." The jury found Fair guilty, and she became the first woman in California sentenced to hang.²⁷

In May, suffragists held another convention, with spiritualists still notably active, and Laura De Force Gordon and Emily Pitts-Stevens invited Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to come west. The eastern reformers arrived in early July, shortly after Fair had been given a stay of execution while she appealed the verdict. Anthony and Stanton immediately stepped forward to assist Fair, as they had supported women involved in similar incidents in the East. They also met the charge of "free love" head on, but came away bruised. On July 14, 1871, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton will deliver her famous Lecture," declared a San Francisco advertisement, "on 'Women Suffrage and Free Love.'" The charge of "free love," Stanton argued, was merely an unfounded epithet used "to carry ridicule and contempt." Anthony, for her part, declared that women already had the vote through the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, but men prevented them from exercising it. However, public reaction to the pair's early lectures was hostile. The populace condemned them for working with two nationally-known suffragists and

spiritualists: Isabella Beecher Hooker and Victoria Woodhull, a particularly notorious advocate of promiscuous free love. Anthony and Stanton canceled their other planned lectures and left town.²⁸

Continuing to broaden the smear and make it personal, on June 2, 1872, the San Francisco *Chronicle* charged that Emily Pitts-Stevens belonged to the "Radical Club," which, according to the paper, attracted all of society's misfits. The club was "composed exclusively of Socialists, Spiritualists, Free Lovers, Woman Suffragists and all who by reason of their sentiments are ostracized from the society which they so much condemn." The linkage of spiritualism, free love, and suffrage was potentially deadly to the woman's movement. Suffrage leaders recognized that respectable women distanced themselves from such beliefs, and sometimes turned on their own supporters. On April 27, 1873, for instance, officers of the California Woman Suffrage Association themselves raised the charge of free love against Emily Pitts-Stevens in a long article in the *Chronicle*. She left the movement, and used her many skills to further temperance. Though Pitts-Stevens was not a spiritualist, the damaging charge was intimately connected in the public mind with spiritualism. Such an incident illustrated the way suffragist gratitude for the spiritualist contribution to the cause began to fade. In effect, woman's rights leaders in the 1870s purged spiritualists and other perceived sexual radicals from the movement.²⁹

A century ago, Susan B. Anthony reminded supporters of women's suffrage of their debt to spiritualism. Today, however, with the general acceptance of the 1866 program, spiritualism is largely a historical curiosity. However, it should not be. Though a small, off-beat religious sect in the 1860s and early 1870s, California spiritualists were the catalysts for the initial campaign for women's rights and women's suffrage. They were the first to demand the vote and provide political speakers. As support for this radical reform grew in the Golden State, they contributed leaders and nourished the cause. Their influence exceeded their number. In the telling of the woman's rights movement, California's spiritualists must not be ignored.

CBS

See notes beginning on page 252.

Robert J. Chandler received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Riverside in 1978 for a study of California during the Civil War. Since then, he has published extensively on the 1860s and is currently writing a book. He works for a financial institution that appreciates its history.



Unconventional from its inception, the Arequipa Sanatorium offered more than a healthy retreat for its women residents. This photograph, titled "Patients at Work," which first appeared in "Arequipa Sanatorium," by Richard G. Cabot, shows several women at work in the facility's pottery studio in 1912. *Collection of the author.*

"This Novel Employment of Untrained Hands"

THE POTTERY OF THE AREQUIPA SANATORIUM

by Lynn Downey

If you had been a wage-earning woman at the turn of the century (a factory-worker, store clerk, telephone operator, teacher), and you had the misfortune to contract tuberculosis, your options for getting well and staying well were very few. You could ignore the doctor's diagnosis, and try to continue working while your strength held out. You could stay home in bed, following orders to stay completely at rest, while your family life crumbled around you. Or, you could go to a sanatorium, often a large, impersonal institution, where you were at the mercy of the medical director's strict rules and your own struggle against an incurable disease. However, if you were the aforesaid woman and you lived in San Francisco or the Bay Area, you had one more choice: you could enter the Arequipa Sanatorium in Fairfax, a small, personable place built exclusively for working women in 1911 by Philip King Brown, a remarkable doctor with a special vision and a concern for women's health that transcended the divisiveness of gender that characterized his time.

One of the reasons for these unusual character traits was, not surprisingly, his mother: Charlotte

Blake Brown, foremost among San Francisco's nineteenth-century female physicians. This in itself would be quite an accomplishment, but in addition to her busy practice, Charlotte also found time to open Children's Hospital and Training School for Nurses in 1875, the first of its kind west of the Rockies. At Children's Hospital, women were treated by physicians of their own sex, and the Training School gave many women opportunities for financial and personal independence through a career in nursing.

Charlotte was a philanthropist, a friend of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, and a person of grit and integrity. She was also a working mother and raised three children who grew up to adore and idolize her. Two of them became physicians: her daughter Adelaide, and her only son, Philip. Adelaide is most remembered for nearly single-handedly running a campaign to clean up the disease-ridden milk brought into San Francisco from a number of local dairies. And Philip followed in his mother's footsteps by not only choosing medicine as a career, but by creating an institution when he saw that it was needed.

This institution, the Arequipa Sanatorium for



Designed by San Francisco architect John Blakewell and built on Marin County land donated by real estate executive Henry Bothin, Arequipa Sanatorium, shown in this contemporary photograph, was completed in 1911. Beyond the hospital are the pottery (center), and two smaller cottages. *Collection of the author.*

Wage-Earning Women, was conceived out of the ashes of the 1906 earthquake and fire. While treating patients in his private practice as the city was rebuilding, thirty-seven-year-old Philip noticed that more women than men were being diagnosed with tuberculosis, an appalling statistic, to his way of thinking, and he began to wonder how this could have happened. He spent some time analyzing his patients' files and came up with his own explanation: the many women who had to work outside the home spent their days crammed into airless, unsanitary

factories, stores, and classrooms, unable to get enough fresh air to ease their laboring lungs. Men, on the other hand, had the option to work outdoors, where the air was clean and plentiful. Hard work, lack of fresh air, and the additional burden of taking care of home and family made working women easy targets for tuberculosis. For many of them, taking the cure in a sanatorium was out of the question, usually because of the expense, and they stayed at home and on the job, getting sicker and infecting those around them. There was also another aspect to the

problem of women with TB. Putting women in sanatoria that also treated men often brought social conflicts that made "taking the cure" even more difficult.

Something had to be done, so Philip—in every way his mother's son—decided to do it. Keeping the problem of mixed-gender sanatoria in mind, he "thought somewhat to equalize this state of affairs by providing for women."¹ What he did was to build a place especially for the hard-pressed working women of San Francisco, with donated land, architectural plans, goods, services, and ten thousand dollars from an anonymous benefactor.

These donors were not just anybody: the land came from Henry Bothin, who had made his fortune in Marin County real estate and gave forty acres of prime property to Philip for his sanatorium. A few years earlier, he had given Elizabeth Ashe the adjacent tract so she could start "Hill Farm," a home for convalescent women and children. Ashe was the founder of San Francisco's first settlement house, called the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood House, which still thrives today as the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Center on Lombard Street in North Beach. And it was John Bakewell, the architect best known for his design of San Francisco's City Hall, who conceived, drew, and donated the plans for the graceful sanatorium. After this healthy start, Arequipa—a Peruvian word meaning "place of rest"—opened for business in September of 1911.

Fitted with screened wards to allow the maximum of fresh air into the sanatorium building, sheltered into the quiet hills of West Marin, and with space for only twenty-two patients, Arequipa seemed the perfect place to ease oneself back into health. Philip kept costs down by using local produce and dairy products, creating endowed beds for those who could not pay all necessary fees, and gratefully accepting regular donations of products and medicine from his generous friends.

However, he felt strongly that taking the rest cure in a sanatorium—which consisted of lying in bed, eating plentiful meals, and getting regular medical examinations—was only half of the equation for get-



Dr. Philip King Brown, founder of Arequipa Sanatorium. *California Historical Society Collection.*

ting rid of TB. Equally important was creating an environment in which the women felt they were in charge of their cure and that the solution to getting healthy and avoiding a return to the sanatorium was in their hands. Arequipa's doors had barely opened before Philip took this metaphor and made it a reality by putting something very tangible into his patients' hands: *clay*.

He had had the idea for a while, even before the shovels had made the first cut into the earth at Arequipa's future site. What could be worse, he thought, than lying in bed for months at a time, worrying

about having a serious illness, and wondering how you were going to pay for it? Endowed beds were fine, and San Francisco's charitable institutions and large employers made a sanatorium stay possible for many women, but what about their mental health? A patient with an active, engaged mind, coupled with equally active hands, must surely heal faster than one kept completely in bed, still and brooding.

Philip wanted to offer something to his patients that was more all-encompassing than what we call today "occupational therapy," something more than just keeping them busy so the time would go by faster. He envisioned an activity that would engage the whole woman and her own recuperative powers to achieve a cure and to "provide against the degenerative influences of long continued idleness."² It also had to be an occupation that created a product that could be sold, and whose sales could help a patient pay for her stay. Such an undertaking would also help these women—who had already held down paying jobs—to resume the habit of work, and possibly give them a new livelihood, in case they were never well enough again to take up their former occupations. And, just as important, this activity must "avoid any aspect of a disguised charity."³ What could possibly fill this bill?

Philip was a thorough investigator, and he began to read articles and query other doctors for ideas. Basketry was the first thing he attempted, but it was too unwieldy for bed patients and there was also the fear of infection being spread from patient to purchaser (there was no way to sterilize basketry materials effectively). His next idea proved to be a winner. A Marblehead, Massachusetts, institution offered pottery-making to its patients, with great medical and financial success. Philip knew of the work there and decided to give pottery a try at Arequipa.

Having decided to do so, Philip was placing himself squarely into the midst of the influential Arts & Crafts movement, whose underlying philosophy was that art and beauty resided in items made by human hands more than in those made by machine. In addition, whatever was created—whether pottery, tile, furniture, painting, sculpture, metalwork,

leather work, or any number of other forms—was not meant to be put on a shelf, on a wall, or secluded in a corner. It was meant to be used, to be an integral part of the owner's life, bringing him or her a daily peace through the interaction with each object. Art created as part of the work of a charitable institution personified this movement. Philip did not really have these lofty artistic considerations in mind, however. All he wanted was to find a way for his patients to get well by employing the creative process, and in so doing, to stay that way. Easily said, and, surprisingly, easily done.

In October 1911, Philip was giving one of his many talks in San Francisco about TB prevention and about his desire to open a pottery studio for the patients at his new sanatorium. He made a pitch for financial and volunteer help, and by great good fortune, one of the people sitting in the audience was exactly the kind of person he was looking for.

This was Frederick Hurten Rhead, who was visiting California during the course of a lecture tour for the People's University in St. Louis. This thirty-one-year-old ceramist had already made a name for himself since his arrival in the United States in 1902. Born in England into a family of eminent pottery-makers, by the time he was nineteen he was an instructor and the director of a thriving ceramics business. After arriving in the United States, he made a beeline for Ohio, one of the hubs of the American art pottery industry. Rhead's glazes, shapes, and designs were exciting and unique, and he was soon lured to St. Louis by the People's University. This institution was a branch of the American Woman's League, located in University City, a suburb of St. Louis. Here, artists of all kinds found kindred spirits and brilliant instructors to help create their artistic dreams. Rhead became a faculty member in 1909, but by 1911, when he decided to visit California, the university was experiencing some problems, and many teachers (including Rhead) were going elsewhere.

Rhead was therefore free to take on new challenges, and Philip offered him an opportunity he could not pass up. It worked this way: Rhead and

his wife were to be given living expenses for six months, during which they would create and build up Arequipa Pottery to match Philip's dream of remunerative occupation for tubercular women. As soon as they agreed on all the terms, Rhead prepared a list of the equipment and materials he needed and within a few weeks a shed, kiln, wheel, and tools were donated by Philip's continually generous and interested friends. By November, Arequipa Pottery officially got under way.

A few people expressed dismay at the prospect of TB patients doing the kind of work necessary to create pottery. Clay was heavy, after all, and were not most pottery works rather dank and dusty? This could not be the right kind of atmosphere for a woman ill with TB, they said. And what about germs?

Philip was ready with answers for all of these concerns. The heavy work of hauling clay and throwing large pieces would be done by hired men and some of the boys from Hill Farm. As for dust, the shed was screened on two sides, allowing for plenty of fresh air and the dissipation of any lingering clay particles. And germs were easily destroyed during the firing process.

Having swept away the arguments of well-meaning, but ignorant, critics, Philip created the rules by which the Arequipa patients could work in the pottery. Only those with steady normal temperatures were allowed to do the ceramic work, and for only five hours per day (with a two-hour rest at noon, a sacred ritual in all sanatoria). No one worked on Saturday or Sunday at all. The women were allowed to throw the smaller pieces and do the carving and decorating. When the weather was pleasant, the patients sat outside under the oak trees with their tools and their design ideas. In the early days, their work was supervised by a graduate nurse, herself recovering from TB.

Many beautiful designs for pottery shapes and their carvings were created by Bruce Porter, one of Philip's friends and a tremendous artist in his own right. In addition to his talent for illustration, Porter was also a landscape designer, a writer, a mural

painter, and the creator of beautiful stained glass windows. His influence on the Arequipa Pottery was enormous, all the more so because he gave his help freely and out of the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement itself.

Arequipa's 1912 Annual Report stated that some of the more seriously affected patients had not improved until they began to work in the pottery. During this first year, the pottery was completely supported by private individuals, freeing all funds for the running of the sanatorium alone. Included in this financial support were wages paid to the patients who worked in the pottery and created saleable items.

By 1913 Philip was able to write that unexpected skill and charm of workmanship had been discovered among many of the patients, and a number of San Francisco and West Coast department stores and pottery dealers were showing interest in carrying the wares. Around this time, a beautiful "mark" had been designed to be stamped into the bottom of each piece. It consisted of two concentric circles: the outer one held the words "Arequipa California," separated by joined oak leaves, and the larger, inner circle depicted a vase sitting on a ledge under the sheltering branches of an oak tree. The mark accurately reflected the spirit of the Arequipa Pottery and of the sanatorium, both of which relied so much on nature: the pottery for its designs, and the sanatorium for the healing power of fresh, outdoor air.

Imagine what a typical day must have been like for a patient working in the pottery. Once she was given the go-ahead for a day at the wheel (by having a normal temperature), she would step out of the sanatorium building into the hush of the morning. There was nothing to hear but birdsong, the rustling of small, wild animals in the fallen oak leaves, and the muffled sound of dishes being washed in the kitchen, which faced the path to the pottery. She would walk up a gentle slope on a trail made easier by the placement of railroad ties for stepping stones, and into the front door of the tree-encircled work shed. Her apron awaited her, and she either

sat at the wheel, contemplated critically her work of the previous day (perhaps smashing it into bits if she was displeased with it), or took pieces ready for carving to the seats laid on the path near the hospital building. This would be a peaceful day, most likely, and one the patient could look back on as she lay in her bed at night, grateful for the occupation and the money she would earn.

Life may have been lovely in the pottery shed, but all was not rosy on the administrative side. Soon after the beginning of the year, Rhead asked for funds to buy more kilns and molds and to hire professional

assistants. He was given what he needed, but told that money would only be forthcoming for four months, after which he would have to show material progress and greater sales.

Helen Brown, Philip's wife, had shown a keen interest in the progress of the pottery, and began to watch its day-to-day operations. She did not like what she saw, especially the way the business side was being run. Rhead had insisted that he could be business manager as well as pottery director, and Helen strongly disagreed with his assessment of his own talents. She also thought his emphasis on using



The pottery building was an airy, screen-enclosed room with plenty of natural light. Patients, shown above in the pottery in 1912, were medically supervised and permitted to work only when their health was not at risk. *Collection of the author.*

professional ceramists to create saleable wares went completely against her husband's idea of pottery-making as a way to ease the burden of the patients who were taking the cure. In short, she thought Rhead was mismanaging every aspect of the pottery.

When the four months of extra time and money were up, the pottery's output and financial condition were examined. There had been no improvement in either area, and Rhead had produced too many pieces using the less popular colors and styles. These painful facts, and the friction created between the sanatorium's ideals and Rhead's desire for a profitable pottery, made it difficult for him to remain. He tendered his resignation in May, which Philip accepted with true regret (Helen likely felt quite differently).

The Browns were now left with a large pottery works and no one to run it. But somehow fate came to their rescue again. "We gathered our scattered ideas and forces together during June 1913," Helen Brown wrote, "and by a good luck chance got in touch with Mr. A.L. Solon, a young Englishman, son of a famous potter."⁴ That was an understatement of immense proportion, for Albert Solon was descended from a line of ceramists dating back to late seventeenth-century France (ironically, Frederick Rhead's father had served as an apprentice to Albert Solon's grandfather). Born in 1887 in England, Albert had come to the United States by 1912. He hit the ground running after his arrival, working in a number of brick and terra cotta factories in southern California and making a survey of the local clays.

By June 1913, he was installed at Arequipa, and within a few months had begun to get the finances straightened out, the kilns in working order, and the existing molds sorted and organized. We know much about Rhead's and Solon's time at the pottery through an essay Helen Brown wrote in the spring of 1914, which she called "History of Arequipa Pottery." She reported that not only were the leftover molds reorganized, "there were a great many cracked ones and hideous shapes also that Mr. Porter aided Mr. Solon in smashing."⁵ They also

destroyed much of the unfired, unglazed wares, fired some of the glazed stock, and sold the inferior pieces at rock bottom prices through their regular distributors. Helen attempted to give a correct financial picture of the pottery's condition, but said that "owing to the chaotic conditions in which Mr. Rhead left his accounts it is impossible to make an accurate statement."⁶

In December, Helen began to help out with the accounts and the correspondence, working at the sanatorium's San Francisco office. This led to the creation of a sample room in San Francisco, and, eventually, the hiring of a stenographer to handle the growing volume of letters. As Helen put it, "The work has grown instead of decreased, and so Mrs. Brown has resigned to give place to someone more capable and who can give much more time to detail and the furthering of more extensive sales."⁷ The woman they chose for the job was the wife of Arthur Putnam, a talented sculptor still well-known today for his powerful portrayals of wild California animals.

The Arequipa Pottery was making quite a stir in artistic and retail circles, and the Brown family's prominent friends lined up to place orders and arrange for special commissions from regional institutions. One that particularly delighted Helen was a commission for seventy-five small flower vases for the St. Francis Hotel. "It is proposed to keep California wild flowers of gay colors in the vases on each table."⁸ A brochure created about this time reemphasized Arequipa's links to the Arts and Crafts movement. "No machinery is used in the making of Arequipa. The clay is washed and mixed by hand. The potter's wheel is used, and many pieces are built by coiling the clay Indian fashion. The ware is essentially a craft product. Every piece is an original and individual work of art."⁹ On a more practical level, Arequipa was guaranteed to hold water indefinitely. Another pamphlet put it even better. "The interest of the experiment is thus inclusive of the human problem of work for girls who would otherwise be idle and restless in convalescence, and the building



Arequipa pottery and tile, ca. 1914–1917, and the pottery mark, taken from the reverse of a tile, ca. 1917. These surviving examples date from Albert Solon's tenure as director of the pottery. *Photographs by Kathleen McDougal. Collection of the author.*



up of a new industry that will contribute to the art values in California. This little pottery at Arequipa promises to make a very real contribution to the higher activities in the State."¹⁰

Albert Solon apparently had a genius not only for pottery-making but also for organizing. Under his direction, twice the number of patients were working in the pottery within a year, and stores as far

away as Chicago, Boston, and New York were carrying the wares on their shelves. Even more important to the Browns, though, was the fact that the pots and vases were made only by Arequipa patients (except for the heavy digging and kiln preparation work). Some women were so proficient in the pottery that they asked if they could stay on to perfect their new craft after being discharged. This was fairly



Had production of Arequipa pottery not been linked to the restored health and release of TB patients, the pottery might have endured longer. Its popularity was successfully tested with Arequipa's booth, above, at the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Awards were bestowed for both the exhibition and individual pieces, and as a result of the public exposure, sales increased dramatically. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

easy to do at first, but as the number of ex-patients grew, they began to crowd out those still living in the sanatorium. Reluctantly, Philip had to ask them to find work elsewhere, and a few actually made new careers for themselves with their new-found artistic skill.

In 1915, San Francisco celebrated its rise from the ashes of 1906 (and America's completion of the Panama Canal) by hosting the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Philip took advantage of the opportunity to showcase the sanatorium's work in fighting TB by renting a booth in the Palace of Education and Social Economy. He was given a well-situated corner location, and as the exposition got under way, Philip set up a working kiln, built large shelves to hold pieces of completed pottery for sale, and installed a steady stream of ex-patients to demonstrate the work he was doing at Arequipa.

The exhibit was a hit. A smitten visitor representing the government of the Philippines even penned a poem about the booth and its inhabitants.

Tell me, did you ever see Arequipa's Pottery?
If you have not, then you may
At the Expo. any day.

Rain or shine each afternoon
Sweet assamy rose in June
You will find a maiden there
Who displays this wonderous ware.

I have watched her day by day
As she moulds the supple clay;
And with charming ease and grace
Turns this clay into a vase.

But this maid on mischief bent,
(To me it seems a sacrament),
Takes this vase in idle play
And crushes it again to clay.

So then I hastily retreat
And leave her 'mid the blossoms sweet;
For well I know to my dismay
That my poor heart is made of clay.¹¹

Philip was pleased and proud when he and the sanatorium both received gold medals for the exhibit; various pieces of individual pottery fetched a bronze

medal and two certificates of honor. Even better, large orders were taken from fascinated visitors, and letters of inquiry about the pottery started to come in from all over the United States.

Making the pottery works self-supporting was still proving to be a problem, despite brisk sales. The women were rarely around long enough to become proficient in making the truly expert pieces that fetched the higher prices. Breaking in a new worker was estimated to take from fifty to seventy working hours, and after about one hundred hours in the pottery, most patients were well enough to go home. The important thing, though, was that the patients were able to make a bit of money to apply to the costs for their stay. However small this contribution was financially, it was priceless in terms of its mental health benefits, and it exemplified the true reason for the pottery's existence.

Good news just kept rolling in, but then a new blow fell: Albert Solon was offered a position as teacher of ceramics at the San Jose Normal School (soon to become San Jose State College). This was a rare opportunity for a young man, and he left the pottery in May 1916, no doubt leaving behind many sad faces (especially Helen's, who had raved about him in her 1914 essay).

There was little time to feel sorry, however. The Arequipa Pottery was proving to be, if not thriving, at least the kind of outlet for tubercular women that Philip had wanted it to be. It was now being run by two experienced patients, but a new director was sorely needed. The past proved to be prologue, for within a few months Philip had again found someone willing to take the enterprise in hand.

Fred Wilde was another English-born ceramist who had come to the United States to try his luck. After settling in America, he established a solid reputation as a "tile man," much as Rhead and Solon had become famous for their pottery forms. After working throughout the East, he arrived in southern California in 1903. The boom in Mission-style architecture demanded much tile, so there was

plenty of work. In 1916, Wilde was nearly sixty years old, and the prospect of a quiet life in the Marin hills was probably very attractive after the hard work of the previous decades.

No one knows how Dr. Brown came to ask Fred Wilde to take over the Pottery. It is possible that John Bakewell, who designed the Santa Fe train depot in San Diego for which Wilde created the tile, introduced the two men. In addition, Albert Solon had lived in National City in southern California at the same time Wilde worked there, and it is possible that he picked his own successor. Arequipa's 1916 Annual Report provided another clue to Brown's decision. "In Mr. Wilde we shall have not only a skilled technician and experienced potter but a man who comes to us largely because of his interest in our peculiar problem of supplying a remunerative and educational occupation for convalescent girls."¹² Whatever the reason, Wilde arrived in September and soon began to make changes.

The biggest one involved reorganizing the facilities to accommodate tile-making in addition to pottery. He arranged for the creation of Spanish-style designs, which were incorporated into many Bay Area homes. By this time the marketing aspect of the pottery had become more sophisticated, and brochures extolling the virtues of Arequipa were could be seen all over the country. The one that advertised the tiles described in detail what customers could expect in terms of style and glazes. "We have a very complete range of colors and every type of glaze from the full matte to the brilliant Persian enamel, accurate reproductions of old Gothic unglazed floor tiles and copies from Moorish examples can be made successfully."¹³

World events, unfortunately, spelled many changes at the Arequipa Pottery and, eventually, its demise. When the country entered World War I in 1917, many of the young men who had been helping with the heavy part of the work joined up and were sent to France. War-time inflation sent prices for raw materials through the

roof, and Philip also went to the front to serve as deputy commissioner for the Red Cross, thereby depriving the pottery of its guiding force. By the following year, it was impossible to keep the pottery going and make any money at all, either to meet expenses (which it had rarely done) or to create even meager salaries for the tubercular workers. So in 1918, the potter's wheel was stilled. The closure was only temporary. The field section of the California Botanical Society visited Arequipa on June 15, 1919, and later had a poem printed up about their excursion entitled, "The Pots of Arequipa." This would indicate that the pottery was up and running again. The annual reports for 1920 and 1921 discuss the pottery and tile in the section on Occupational Therapy.

After 1923, the pottery disappeared from the sanatorium's reports. However, the joint annual report for 1922 and 1923 dropped a subtle hint as to why: in the summer of 1923 a devastating grass fire swept over the hill above the sanatorium, threatening to destroy the hospital building. The fire was stopped before this happened, but not before the adjoining ridge was badly burned. Since the pottery buildings were in this vicinity, it is likely they were destroyed, and never rebuilt.

Arequipa's patients were not deprived of occupation for long after the pottery disappeared, however. Courses of training were soon offered in stenography, typing, laboratory technology, foreign languages, and esoteric subjects. While these skills did not allow patients to earn money while taking the cure, they did give many young women a new start in the working world once they went home. Those who were not strong enough for new occupations were not left out, though; the author's grandmother, who was an Arequipa patient from 1927 until 1929, learned to read palms.

In 1930, Dr. Brown wrote to former director Albert Solon—now the owner of a prosperous San Jose tile firm called Solon & Schemmel—asking if he would like to buy some of the old Arequipa tile molds. Solon's response was no, but his hilarious letter

("Old moulds, unlike old wine, find few purchasers") ends with a tribute to his former employer.

All is ruin - wreck & rack
Persian Blue and Mirror Black.
See the spectres of the dead,
Aubergine and Chinese Red.
Vanished from this mortal screen,
Flanders Grey and Blanc-de-Chine
But wearing still the thorny crown
Is Philip-King-Burnt-Umber-Brown.¹⁴

Philip Brown died in 1940, and his son Cabot took over the management of Arequipa until 1958, when it was closed forever. This was actually a happy occasion. Sanatoria were being shut down all over the country as the wonder drugs (such as streptomycin) of the 1940s proved to be the miracle cure for TB that doctors had been seeking for decades. Patients could take these drugs at home and never have to darken the door of an institution again.

And what about the Arequipa Pottery itself? The last few years have seen a growing appreciation for American art pottery in general and Arequipa ware in particular. Exquisite pieces created by the pottery directors are held by the Smithsonian and the Oakland Museum, and the author has two simple pieces made by unskilled but obviously enthusiastic patients. Unfortunately, no one seems to know what happened to the flower vases made for the St. Francis Hotel.

Those who own Arequipa Pottery, or who admire it in museums, may know why the pots, vases, and tiles were created, but it must never be forgotten that the hands that shaped them belonged to brave young

women fighting the most deadly disease of their time. In molding the pliable clay, they were molding their health, their cure, and their very lives. Take a look at the Arequipa Pottery the next time you tour the Oakland Museum, and remember that its heritage spans California history—from Charlotte Brown's fight to bring women proper medical care, to her son's rare concern for working women and their health, to the hundreds of patients who, during a span of nearly fifty years, entered Arequipa with a terrible disease and emerged whole and healthy.

Remember also that it was concerned individuals—doctors, architects, real estate tycoons, and ceramists—who made Arequipa a reality during the years when tuberculosis was as frightening a word as AIDS is in our time. It is a model of compassion and commitment that can teach us much today.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 254.

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Before the pottery closed, it shifted its production to include decorative "Spanish" tiles with colorful glazes. This photograph, published in the hospital's 1914 Annual Report, shows patients decorating pottery outside the workroom. This unique opportunity for women with TB to work creatively and earn a little money at Arequipa was credited with hastening their recuperation. *Collection of the author.*



Jessamyn West delivering the 1959 Whittier College commencement address. Richard Nixon is seated behind the podium. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

From a Common Ground:

THE QUAKER HERITAGE OF JESSAMYN WEST AND RICHARD NIXON

by Joseph Dmohowski

Richard Nixon referred to author Jessamyn West as the "Milhous family historian."¹ Born in 1902, Mary Jessamyn West McPherson was ten and one-half years older than her second cousin, Richard Milhous Nixon. During a concurrent speaking engagement at Whittier College with Vice President Nixon in 1954, she outlined their common background: "A Quaker heritage; a great grandfather and grandmother; Yorba Linda, which was our childhood home; and Whittier College, where we did our undergraduate work."²

Jessamyn West and Richard Nixon shared something else in common as well. Their lives were dramatically altered by a deadly disease. "Tuberculosis made Richard Nixon a politician, and Jessamyn a writer," noted Dr. Harry M. McPherson, the late author's husband.³ This connection and others will be examined herein. The common ground shared by Jessamyn West and Richard Nixon, and their families, deserves inspection.

ROOTS

Jessamyn West's family moved from North Vernon, Indiana, to southern California in 1909, when she was six years of age. Traveling by train, they arrived in Whittier (eighteen miles east of Los Angeles) on May Day. Eldo West, Jessamyn's father, had been a school teacher in Indiana. After his arrival in California, he performed ranch work for their relatives and neighbors. For the next two years, they lived in a spare house on Jessamyn's grandfather's property in east Whittier, close to the ranches of her aunts and uncles.

Grace West, Jessamyn's mother, had always been

close to Richard Nixon's mother, Hannah. They were first cousins who grew up together in Indiana, members of an influential Quaker clan—the Milhous family. Richard Nixon's grandparents had moved away from southern Indiana in 1897, drawn in part by the attraction of the newly expanding Quaker-affiliated Whittier College (formerly the Whittier Academy). They lived comfortably on a ranch ideally located between two important points of interest: Whittier Friends Church and the college. Quakers had founded the town of Whittier in 1887, and dominated its social, cultural, and political life. Real estate prices there were prohibitively high for many newcomers, due in part to land speculation, development, and the booming citrus industry.

Yorba Linda was more affordable. Located thirty-three miles southeast of Los Angeles, in northern Orange County, Yorba Linda represented a last frontier in southern California for migrating Quaker families. The Janss Investment Company, the town promoters, offered a parcel of land there for \$150 an acre, with a promise of 776,000 gallons of water per month for each ten-acre spread.⁴ The sale of alcohol was prohibited in the new development, a particularly appealing inducement for incoming Quakers and other temperance-favoring groups. The pervasive Quaker presence that loomed heavily in Whittier also dominated Yorba Linda. Social activity in town centered around the Religious Society of Friends. As historian Stephen Ambrose writes, "they imposed a Puritan streak on the town; there were no liquor stores, no bars, no dance halls, no theaters, nothing at all to do—except church activities."⁵ Yorba Linda was a closely knit, church-dominated



This 1913 view of Yorba Linda shows the beginnings of the Quaker community and the lemon orchards that launched its agricultural development. The white arrow at the right points to the Yorba Linda Friends Church, where the Nixon family worshipped. The Nixon family home, not clearly visible in this image, is located approximately in the center of the left side of the photograph. This view of Yorba Linda is among the materials found in the Richard M. Nixon Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, which focuses on Nixon's pre-political years. The project contains nearly two hundred taped interviews with teachers, classmates, friends, and relatives who were acquainted with Richard and Pat Nixon from childhood through their college years. *Courtesy California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program.*

community. The conformity imposed upon the residents was not only insisted upon, but welcomed.

Richard Nixon's parents, Frank and Hannah, were among the earliest settlers of Yorba Linda. They purchased their property in 1910, and had a two-story house completed by January 1912. Following the lead of Frank and Hannah Nixon, Eldo West moved his family there. The Wests had two daughters, Jessamyn and Carmen, and a son, Myron. Merle West, the youngest child, was born in 1912 at their Yorba Linda home. Jessamyn West reminisced wistfully about the joy of growing up in this beautiful, untamed land:

The sun came up there as I think it always should, from behind a mountain called Old Saddle Back. The evening breezes sprang up there as I think evening

breezes always should, fresh and sweet off the blue Pacific. Children in spring picked there, as children always should, double handfuls of yellow violets and mariposa lilies. In fall, they ran after rolling tumbleweeds blown by the big Santa Anas. In winter they brought armloads of holly down from the hills.⁶

These bucolic recollections reflect a childhood life without regrets.

The Wests bought a hilltop ranch site close to Frank and Hannah Nixon's in 1911. The family camped out near their newly planted lemon grove, while awaiting completion of their home. The West and Nixon properties were separated by the community's irrigation canal, the Anaheim Union Water Ditch. Richard Nixon's boyhood home has been wonderfully preserved on the grounds of the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace. Unfortunately, the West's original home was destroyed in an arson-set fire in 1982. The Anaheim "ditch," where the Nixon and West children once swam illicitly, is long gone. Now a paved and covered storm drain, the canal ran along the northern perimeter of the Nixon Library grounds, its course still discernible. Jessamyn West Park (located about a mile to the east of the Nixon Library and Birthplace) honors the memory of Jessamyn West and her family. Situated on the site of Eldo's original property, the popular seven-acre park is a beautifully landscaped community recreation facility.



The original community church in Yorba Linda started out as nondenominational. Land for the church was coaxed from the Janss Investment Company, and Quaker congregations in Whittier and Pasadena contributed the majority of funding. Local craftsmen, including Frank Nixon, contributed their volunteer labor in constructing the building. In effect, the Quakers took the church over as their own. They held the first Friends service there in 1912, the same year that the Yorba Linda Post Office was established.

The Quaker practices in southern California differed substantially from those outside the state. Edwin Hoyt illustrates an example of the culture shock visiting Friends experienced in Yorba Linda. A Quaker gentleman from Ohio, Theodore Stanley, attending the first meeting in August 1912, complained about Frank's installation of a steeple on the meeting house. This represented an unwelcome sign of "worldliness." In *To See the Dream*, Jessamyn West noted that steeples and spires "were characteristic of churches, temples, cathedrals, abbeys, buildings that, so the early Friends felt, emphasized objects rather than men, means rather than ends, outwardness rather than inwardness, the world rather than God."⁷ Stanley suffered an even greater shock, however, when he discovered that the Yorba Linda church possessed an organ. Hoyt further describes the initial service:

The meeting was modern, with a *paid* minister who preached, instead of the old silent prayer—another departure that brought frowns to Quaker Stanley's face. And after the meeting, instead of repairing quietly to their homes, Frank Nixon and the others stood in the street and talked politics, arguing the merits of Teddy Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.⁸

Community activity revolved around the Yorba Linda Friends Church. The Nixon and West families both participated with a pioneer zeal.

Richard Nixon grew up in Yorba Linda, the second of five boys. In the year of his birth (1913), there were around two-hundred residents in the community. He characterized his religious upbringing in this way: "I grew up in a religious environment that was at once unusually strict and unusually tolerant. My mother and her family belonged to a branch of the Friends Church that had ministers, choirs, and virtually all the symbols of other Protestant denominations."⁹ The Quakers, however, did not practice water baptism or serve communion. Richard Nixon followed a strict daily prayer regimen, and attended four Quaker services each Sunday. Jessamyn West recalled her own and Nixon's spiritual roots in describing her memory of the Yorba Linda Friends Church:

No one wishes to believe that the Quakerism I knew as a child in southern California had little to distinguish it from shouting Methodism. We sang the rag-



Frank and Hannah Nixon on their wedding day in June 1908. The contrast in their personalities was startling. Frank Nixon's boisterousness countered Hannah Milhous's serenity. Frank loved to argue, while Hannah's special legacy was a "quiet, inner peace." *Courtesy Whittier College.*

time hymns, listened to sermons long on rhetoric and short on reason, and had revivals that tore all but the most stolidly built emotionally among us right apart at our spiritual seams. We had revivals that put all of us in a "weaving way."¹⁰

The fervor of religious revivalism swept up many Quakers. Jessamyn West and Richard Nixon both publicly accepted the Lord at revivals in their teens. The dominance of the Yorba Linda Friends Church as the center of community activity was accepted willingly there. There was no alternative, and members of the community stayed there because this was the type of environment they had sought when they settled. Those not welcoming the situation would have packed up and left.

THE WEST AND NIXON FAMILIES

Frank Nixon possessed a restless spirit as a young man, evident in the number and variety of jobs he took on. His formal education ended in the fourth grade. Before moving away from Ohio, at one time or another Frank drove an ox team, hauled lumber, worked in a glass factory, painted houses, made bricks, and was a potter. Later he worked on a sheep ranch, farmed potatoes, helped install the first telephones in Colorado, and drove streetcars.¹¹ Frank was a skilled craftsman, hardworking and reliable. An argumentative personality, rather than lack of ability, kept him moving from job to job. When he arrived in southern California in 1907, Frank Nixon was hired as a motorman by the Pacific Electric Rail-

way Company. The "Red Cars" he drove provided efficient transit service to the Los Angeles area, with a line ending in Whittier.

Frank Nixon met Hannah Milhous in 1908. At the time, she had attended Whittier College for two years and was taking a year off from school. Frank's courtship prospects were not particularly good. Hannah's five sisters attempted to dissuade her from Frank's pursuit. He was not a Quaker, and, as far as the Milhous sisters were concerned, his personality left much to be desired. Jessamyn West described Frank Nixon as follows: "He was very unlike my birthright relatives, who were quiet, subdued, inclined to see both sides of every question. Frank saw one side: his; and he was not bashful about letting you know what was wrong with your side."¹²

Frank Nixon's educational and social standing were far below Milhous standards. (Jessamyn West had said that *all* of the Milhous daughters felt they had married beneath themselves).¹³ Frank and Hannah married four months after they met, the Milhous family's objections notwithstanding. They were a study in contrasts. Frank Nixon married a Quaker "saint," the person whom Jessamyn West often referred to as her own "second mother."¹⁴ They moved eastward to Yorba Linda, pursuing an American dream. On his twelve-acre tract, Frank Nixon planted lemon trees that were provided by Hannah's nurseryman father, Franklin Milhous. The Janss Investment Company had promised, among other things, that Yorba Linda offered:

... some of the richest land in California. The soil is a deep, rich loam, underlaid by a moist subsoil, entirely free from hardpan, alkalai, and adobe. . . . The rainfall is generous and the irrigation supply is ample. Yorba Linda is in a frostless belt.¹⁵

As it turned out, these claims were somewhat dubious. Frosts, though rare, occasioned continual worry for the Nixon family during winter cold spells. Their porous soil was not suited for citrus trees without a generous supply of fertilizer. Frank lacked the capital and financial acumen needed to make the ranch thrive. He was forced to take on numerous odd jobs during the lemons' five-year maturation period. However, it was Frank's insistence upon not going into debt to acquire the essential fertilizer that spelled disaster for their lemon ranch.

Frank Nixon may not have succeeded as a lemon

rancher, but he was a solid citizen in the Yorba Linda community. He assisted in the construction of many new buildings in the growing village and inspired numerous young people with his Sunday-school teaching at the local Quaker church. Jessamyn West extolled his talents as a teacher:

Frank was not only the best Sunday school teacher I ever had, he was just about the best teacher. Frank had that prime requisite for teaching: great enthusiasm for his subject; and he aroused in his pupils a like enthusiasm. Frank was, as they now say, "with it." He related his Sunday school lessons to life about us, to politics, local and national. His class was so popular it overflowed the space allotted to it and if I could have attended it a few more years, I think I might have become a fair stateswoman myself.¹⁶

Jessamyn attended these classes between the ages of fourteen and twenty. It is impressive that Frank Nixon attracted an overflow audience with his teaching. His passionate message invoked a mixture of religious and civic action. West also described Frank's ardent style: "His cheeks flamed, and his voice trembled. He was the first person to make me understand that there was a great lack of practicing Christianity in civic affairs."¹⁷

Frank Nixon adhered to a simple doctrine that Richard later summed up: "In America with hard work and determination, a man can achieve anything."¹⁸ When the Nixons moved away from Yorba Linda in 1922, Frank's life work showed just the opposite. Nixon biographer Stephen Ambrose aptly assessed Frank's futile struggle for his American dream: "Few men worked harder, or were more determined, than Frank, but he had achieved little. Still he had faith, which, it turned out, was not misplaced."¹⁹ Frank Nixon was rewarded in time through his son; he lived to see Richard elected to three political offices, culminating in the vice presidency of the United States.

Hannah Nixon endured. She had married a difficult man, against the will of her family. In some quarters, the Milhouses had a reputation for smugness and self-importance. They unilaterally changed the names of prospective daughters-in-law when they deemed them somewhat improper. For instance, "Dollie," too frivolous sounding, was changed to "Mollie." "Lima" (God forbid), was called "Dorothy." Jessamyn West revealed how the table could turn on them:

The Milhouses got their comeuppance in name changing when a Milhous daughter whose name was Hannah married a man named Francis Anthony Nixon. "Hannah!" exclaimed the Nixons, "Can't you hear people calling her Hanner?" So they changed her name to Mildred.²⁰

Frank Nixon's family returned to Whittier in 1922, leaving behind their failed lemon ranch. The lingering suspicions harbored by Hannah's sisters about Frank still persisted, and probably increased at this point. Although Frank and Hannah had been instrumental in the development of Yorba Linda, Frank was ready for a new pursuit. He had set his sights on establishing a gas station at the east end of Whittier.

In his *Memoirs*, Richard Nixon contrasted the personalities of his parents:

My father was a scrappy, belligerent fighter, with a quick, wide-ranging raw intellect. He left me with a respect for learning and hard work, and the will to keep fighting no matter what the odds. My mother loved me completely and selflessly, and her special legacy was a quiet, inner peace, and the determination never to despair.²¹

Hannah was reminiscent of a frontier wife and mother. Her strong sense of spirituality countered Frank's earthiness, and her sense of piety balanced his boisterousness. Hannah's inner strength tempered Frank's explosiveness. She was not all sternness and solemnity, though. Hannah enjoyed playing the piano, displaying a musical gift not uncommon in her family. She was very active in the Yorba Linda community. As a charter member of the Yorba Linda Federation of Women in 1912, Hannah worked with the club in gaining electrical power for the town and in acquiring a public park.

An early biographer of Richard Nixon acquainted with his mother described how Hannah brought up her sons:

The environment in which the youths were reared was predominantly spiritual. To Hannah, a birthright Quaker, religion is not a mere expression of faith, but a way of life. The lessons learned from her parents are a source of great strength to her, and she bases her life upon the spirit prevailing in the home of her childhood.²²

Hannah raised five boys: first came Harold in 1909, followed by Richard in 1913. Francis Donald (always

referred to as "Don" or "Donald") was born in 1915; then came Arthur in 1918. The last, Edward, was born in 1930. Hannah Nixon was especially fond of Jessamyn West, perhaps treating her as the daughter she never had.

Times were difficult for the Nixons in Yorba Linda. Along with the demands of raising her family, Hannah worked in a La Habra fruit packing plant. Out of necessity, the children wore hand-me-down clothing, and even feeding the family decent meals was a struggle. Hanna later reflected on their poverty stricken days in Yorba Linda, when she often had nothing to serve but cornmeal. "I'd bring it to the table and exclaim, 'See what we have tonight—wonderful corn meal!'" she recalled, "And they would gobble it up as if it were the most delectable of dishes."²³ Richard Nixon ruefully recalled endur-



Grace Anna Milhous, Jessamyn's mother, at age fourteen. Grace had borrowed her mother's wedding ring and sneaked it on her finger, "the dream of wifehood showing on her face." Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. Merle West.

The West and Milhous families in North Vernon, Indiana, photographed ca. 1908, before they moved to California. Front row, from the left, are Carmen, Myron, and Jessamyn; back row, from the left, are Earl Maguire, Jesse Milhous, Grace West, Mary Francis Milhous, and Eldo West with a baby in his arms. *Courtesy Dr. Max McPherson.*



ing Fourth of July celebrations when they could not afford to buy a pack of firecrackers. He also resented not being able to join the Boy Scouts, as his brother Harold had, because the dues and cost of a uniform did not fit the Nixon budget.²⁴ Hannah's strength was in perseverance, embodied by the Quaker virtue called "peace at the center." Her greatest challenge lay in the tragedies she faced—the sudden loss of her then-youngest son, and the devastating prolonged illness that took her eldest, the family favorite.

Grace West displayed a previously mentioned Milhous trait: the whimsical treatment of names. In *The Woman Said Yes*, Jessamyn West illustrated the point in regard to her mother. Her given name was "Grace Anna," and she hated it. She wanted to be called "Gladys Juanita," a name she considered romantic. This family eccentricity is also evidenced in Grace's creation of her daughter's name. Grace West adored her father, Jesse Milhous, whom she considered "the best man on earth." Jessamyn explained the evolution of her uncommon name in *Hide and Seek*:

Mama's mother insisted that I be called "Mary Jessie." Mama accepted the Mary, but fought against what she considered the dullness of Jessie, and finally compromised with the considerably fancied-up version of "Jessamyn." Jessamyn was her own concoction, and she made me promise never to let anyone call me Jessie.²⁵

Grace West was a masterful storyteller, and a talented musician as well. She filled the house with tunes on the piano, organ, or harmonica. Grace cooked unusual but savory dishes: tomato gravy (like a bisque, served on toast—this was also served by Hannah Nixon), fish hash, rabbit gravy, and tamale pies. "She cooked because she wanted to give others pleasure; she did it in spite of overwork and poor health. She did it in spite of makeshift materials and a lack of funds to buy better," Jessamyn observed.²⁶ Debilitating migraine headaches plagued Grace West, and Hannah Nixon often attended to her at the West home during these agonizing attacks.

Jessamyn West did not consider her mother a pretty woman ("I often thought Mama downright ugly").²⁷ But this did not mean that Grace was unat-



Eldo West, Jessamyn's father, in his early twenties. He was a man given to melancholy moods. Richard Nixon described him as the finest Sunday school teacher he ever had. Eldo was the first person to predict the presidency for Nixon. *Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. Merle West.*

tractive! She had been instilled with the Milhous sense of self-confidence. Perhaps it was haughtiness, but she was attuned to her own inner beauty. Grace Milhous lacked no shortage of young suitors before she married Eldo West. Jessamyn revealed an interesting insight about the personalities of both her mother and Frank Nixon:

He never saw my mother, a plain woman, without exclaiming, "Grace, I swear you get prettier every time I see you. How do you do it? I want your recipe. Come here and let me give you a hug."²⁸

Grace would shrink in embarrassment after this kind of greeting. The passage illustrates Frank's boisterous geniality and also exposes an additional Milhous family stereotype, an aversion to physical contact. With his teasing manner, Frank most assuredly knew what kind of behavior would really goad a Milhous.

Frank Nixon and Eldo West each built their family homes in Yorba Linda. Frank was much more experienced in carpentry than Eldo, but evidently the West home survived well. Jessamyn West was impressed by her father's craftsmanship, intended or not: "Perhaps, without knowing it, Papa's principles of construction were sound. He built as earthquake-proof houses are now built: buildings that roll with the shocks. The wind might push, but the house could give."²⁹ The Santa Ana winds at times battered the house relentlessly. For safety, Eldo would place his children in the empty concrete water cistern, while he and Grace would retreat to the barn.

The fortunes of the West and Nixon families eventually went in different directions. Both Eldo and Frank worked in a number of different fields, but Eldo was more successful. In Yorba Linda, he was elected to the board of trustees of the school, and later, president of the school board. Eldo also worked as postmaster, garage owner, water company superintendent, owner of a dry cleaning plant, and realtor. He sent three of his children to college.³⁰

Eldo West also taught Sunday-school classes at Yorba Linda Friends Church. In direct contrast to Frank Nixon, Eldo was a quiet and reflective teacher. In his *Memoirs*, Richard Nixon stated that Eldo West was the best Sunday-school teacher he ever had. Jessamyn West said the same thing about Frank Nixon. When Edward Weeks, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* (and a staunch Democrat), heard of this, he proclaimed to Jessamyn, "All I can say is that his father was a damned sight better Sunday-school teacher than your father."³¹ Eldo recognized the potential of his Sunday school pupil from an early date, and Jessamyn West pointed out that her father was the first person ever to predict the presidency for Richard Nixon. He noted that Richard, as a boy, had an "unusual grasp of and interest in history and especially governmental and political history. That gave him direction."³² Jessamyn recalled that Eldo, often prone to periods of melancholy, bore the burden of his Sunday-school teaching responsibility with "considerable sadness."

The Wests traveled frequently, a luxury not afforded the Nixons, and they took full advantage of the expanding automotive age. Depending on the season, their popular local excursions might include Mount Baldy, Newport Beach, San Gabriel Mission, Big Bear, Pio Pico's Palace, or Mount Lowe.³³ Longer

trips were also made to San Diego, Yosemite, Oakland, Yellowstone, and even back to Indiana in 1920. Automobile traveling in those days was a true adventure. The main hazards were poor roads and frequent mechanical breakdowns. During their travels, the Wests always camped out. They never dined at restaurants, but packed a quantity of homemade travel-friendly pies and other goods. Jessamyn recalled the cuisine on their cross-country trip: "We lived high on the hog crossing America; eating roast-

ing ears, green beans, succotash, fresh strawberries, blackcap raspberries, pies dripping with pink juice of pieplant (now called rhubarb), catfish, baked carp, fried chicken, and cottontails. The meals figured out at twenty-five cents a head a day."³⁴ Jessamyn West, more often than not, however, opted for a chance to enjoy some solitude, and stayed home from the family trips. She passed up many opportunities to join her parents and siblings on the road, missing some glorious adventures.



From the left: Harold, Richard, Arthur, and Francis Donald Nixon, four of the five Nixon sons, circa 1922. This photograph was taken around the time the family moved to Whittier. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

COPING WITH TRAGEDY

Arthur Nixon, Richard's seven-year-old brother, died in the summer of 1925. The cause of his sudden death was indeterminate, listed as "encephalitis or tubercular meningitis."³⁵ Arthur's death devastated the family. An ensuing sense of guilt was shared by Hannah and Frank Nixon. She absorbed the loss stoically, accepting Arthur's death as a manifestation of God's will. Frank Nixon, on the other hand, interpreted Arthur's demise as a punishment from God. He reacted angrily, and became fanatically religious. Frank fervently embraced revivalism, and closed his gas station and store every Sunday following Arthur's death. Biographer Jonathan Aitken reveals that the pain of losing Arthur was still intense for former President Nixon in his last years:

Nearly seventy years later, Richard Nixon still finds it impossible to talk about those days of bereavement, even to his surviving brother Edward. "We could not understand why one so young with such a compelling winning personality could be taken away from us so suddenly."³⁶

Hannah Nixon shared a profound insight into the shaping of her son Richard's character when she recalled that "I think it was Arthur's passing that first stirred within Richard a determination to help make up for our loss by making us very proud of him. Now his need to succeed became even stronger."³⁷ There was no satisfactory explanation for Arthur's death. In just a few years, the family would endure another shattering tragedy that would shake their spiritual foundations.

Harold Nixon was a handsome and outgoing youth. Growing up, he was remembered as a playful, fun-loving boy with an irrepressible personality. On more than one occasion, Richard and Harold teamed up to play an uproarious prank on unwary visitors to the family grocery store. Harold, who was mechanically gifted, rigged a microphone in the house to a radio set in the store. When a station was on, he was able to "broadcast" over it. Richard would play the piano in the background and announce mock advertisements featuring selected items at Nixon's Market. Unsuspecting customers or salesmen never caught on to the bogus commercials.³⁸ But Harold Nixon was an indifferent student, earning only marginal grades, and the family was concerned about some of his high school friends and their wild behavior. Dissatisfied with Whittier Union



Arthur Nixon, around 1921, at three years of age. Arthur's sudden death at age seven plunged the family into spiritual turmoil. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

High School, Frank and Hannah sent Harold to Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts for his senior year. Frigid morning showers there exacerbated a pre-existing tubercular condition. He returned home in April 1927, diagnosed with a fully engaged tubercular infection.

Jonathan Aitken has revealed startling information regarding the origin of Harold's fatal illness, which may also pertain to Arthur's death. Frank Nixon had been something of a "food faddist," insisting that the family drink only raw milk. Following the purchase of a family cow around 1922, "mysterious intimations of lung disease cast their shadow across the Nixon household." After that year, Arthur became illness-prone. Richard suffered from a severe case of undulant fever, the cause of which is linked to infected milk. Don Nixon developed a pulmonary shadow that eventually cleared



Harold Nixon convalescing in Prescott, Arizona, around 1929. Harold was outgoing and charming, the most popular Nixon son. He could not, however, adapt to the sedentary lifestyle forced upon him by tuberculosis. Harold succumbed to the disease in 1933. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

up. Harold was the most severely affected, however. He suffered a lung hemorrhage in the seventh grade, and was diagnosed with tuberculosis. Later, Richard Nixon reflected on Frank's implication in this tragic outbreak: "He refused to pay attention to the doctor's warning that the cow ought to be tested for tuberculosis and for this our family paid a heavy price in the years ahead."³⁹ The Nixon and Milhous families both had extensive histories of TB susceptibility. Frank's mother and sister died from it, as did Grace West's brother, Walter Milhous.⁴⁰

Tuberculosis is a debilitating bacterial infection which primarily attacks the lungs, but may also infect other vital organs. It wreaked havoc throughout the world prior to the discovery of antibiotics. The standard treatment in earlier days consisted pri-

marily of bed rest and fresh air. Frank Nixon could have admitted Harold to the Los Angeles County tuberculosis facility, which provided the best care then available. Frank's insistence on paying for Harold's recovery themselves drew the Nixon family into their greatest crisis. Frank clung to his principles, just as he had when he refused to go into debt to save his lemon trees. Frank Nixon would never accept charity or any type of public assistance.

Frank's stubbornness actually unified the family. Historian Stephen Ambrose assessed the situation:

For the Nixon family, the tragedy of Harold's illness hit harder than anything they had ever gone through, including Arthur's death. Harold's struggle with tuberculosis was expensive, it created tension and anxiety in the family, and it brought out the best in each of them, as they all made genuine sacrifices for Harold's sake. Most of all, it brought them together.⁴¹

Harold was treated in private facilities around southern California after the onset of the disease, but he came home after several months. Upon his return, Harold's condition worsened, partly due to his own recklessness. He defied convalescence and refused (or could not force himself) to rest. He also took on a job as fumigator in the citrus groves, which was hazardous work even for a person with healthy lungs.⁴²

Frank and Hannah Nixon decided to relocate Harold to a higher and drier environment. In the spring of 1928, Hannah moved Harold into a cabin in Prescott, Arizona, and took over his nursing. She paid \$25 each month to rent a four-bedroom house that had electricity and indoor plumbing, but was far from luxurious. There was a wood-burning stove, but no washer. Hannah lived in a cramped attic space, which she reached by climbing up a retractable ladder.⁴³ To reduce expenses, she took in three additional TB patients to nurse. Richard Nixon believed that this was his mother's "finest hour":

She loved and cared for each of those three patients as if they were her own sons. . . . My mother alone, with no help whatever, took care of them all in that little house she had rented. She did the cooking, did the cleaning, took them trays, took care of their laundry, gave them their bed baths, carried their bedpans, gave them alcohol rubs—everything that in those days a nurse would do for a patient, she did by herself . . . and they all died.⁴⁴

Hannah's serenity and faith carried her through even this demanding ordeal. Very unexpected cir-

cumstances brought her back home from Arizona at Christmas time in 1929—at forty-five she was expecting a baby. Edward Nixon was born in May 1930. Harold could only endure Hannah's absence until September of that year, and then he, too, returned home. For the next two years Harold's condition gradually deteriorated. In 1932, Hannah returned to Arizona with him, and she again took in TB patients to nurse. When Harold improved, his mother brought him back home, assured by his promise that this time he would be a good patient.

Hannah Nixon was not the only member of the family to endure demanding hardships during Harold's illness. Don and Richard suffered from the prolonged absence of their mother, and Harold's convalescence resulted in a great financial burden. Frank was forced to sell some of his property adjoining the store, and Richard was not able to accept a Harvard scholarship. During the years of Harold's struggle, Hannah had never bought a new dress. But, her absence brought the boys and their father closer together. Frank did the cooking at home and baked the pies for the store, which was normally Hannah's specialty. Then, every four to six weeks, the Nixon men took the fifteen-hour trip to Prescott. In their absence, the Wests or other relatives would take over the market. Merle West had run the gas station since 1928.⁴⁵

Harold Nixon knew that he was dying. With reckless abandon, he threw himself into a last-chance fling, and got engaged.⁴⁶ There would be no joyous wedding, however. Around noon on March 7, 1933, Richard was called away from his studies at the Library on the Whittier College campus to report home immediately. When he arrived, the hearse was already parked in front. A light in Richard Nixon's life was forever extinguished; part of himself died with Harold, something irretrievable.

After Harold's death, Hannah Nixon said that Richard sank into a "deep, impenetrable silence." "From that time on," she remarked, "it seemed that Richard was trying to be *three* sons in one, striving even harder than before to make up to his father and me for our loss. . . . Unconsciously, too, I think that Richard may have felt a kind of guilt that Harold and Arthur were dead and that he was alive."⁴⁷ Richard Nixon suffered from "survivor's guilt." He was now the eldest son. Soon thereafter, the first in a line of "new Nixons" emerged. Jonathan Aitken perceptively describes the transformation: "From that time

on he was always in the arena, always competing fiercely, always fighting. Whether this was due to some teenage personality metamorphosis, or a direct legacy of his involvement in Harold's struggle we shall never know, but it was a different Richard Nixon who returned to the scene at Whittier College."⁴⁸ When Harold died, Richard Nixon buried the more joyous side of his personality that his deceased brothers had always brought out.

More than ten years older than her cousin, Jessamyn West graduated from Whittier College in 1923. In August of that year, she married a classmate from Whittier, Harry Maxwell McPherson. They moved to Hemet, where "Max" McPherson helped run his father's apricot ranch and coached athletics part-time at Hemet High School. Max would later fill a series of increasingly responsible administrative positions in school systems throughout the state. Jessamyn was hired as the sole elementary school teacher after working for a year as a secretary at the high school. She taught in the one-room Harmony Grammar School in Hemet for the next four years.

During that time, Jessamyn decided to resume her formal education and pursue an advanced degree. She viewed a college professorship as a desirable career. Jessamyn also persuaded a reluctant Max McPherson to enroll at the same time to complete his undergraduate degree.⁴⁹ Max resumed his studies at the University of California, Berkeley, enrolling as a junior in the fall semester in 1929. Jessamyn joined him the following year, after attending the summer session at Oxford University. (West's European travel experiences are recounted in her engaging memoir, *Double Discovery*.) At Berkeley, she enrolled as a doctoral candidate in the American Studies Division of the department of English.

Near the end of her second year in the doctoral program, Jessamyn was preparing for her oral examinations. She had been plagued throughout that year by mysterious maladies: headaches, afternoon fevers, pleurisy, and persistent coughs. Jessamyn feared that she was becoming a hypochondriac. But in August 1932, while visiting her parents in Whittier, she was stricken with an arterial lung hemorrhage. At thirty years of age, she was diagnosed with a "far advanced case of bilateral tuberculosis with considerable fibroid reaction."⁵⁰ Within days of the hemorrhage, she was admitted to a terminal ward at La

Vina Sanatorium in Altadena. Ironically, she had identified with consumptive authors even before her own diagnosis. Each of these tubercular writers, such as Keats, Thoreau, Emily Brontë, Chekhov, Stephen Crane, and Katherine Mansfield, died before their time.⁵¹

Thus began the period Jessamyn called her "horizontal life." It was to last ten years. After she entered La Vina, a doctor informed her that ninety-five percent of the patients with advanced cases like hers were dead within five years. This unsettling information dropped her already sinking spirits. "You have raging fever, pleurisy, night sweats, like someone with a strong attack of flu," she described her tuberculosis symptoms. "You're just miserable. You reach the point where you can't stand up."⁵²

Grace West visited her daughter every other day at La Vina Sanatorium, although the eighty-mile round trip from east Whittier to Altadena was an arduous journey. Despite suffering from her own maladies, Grace persisted. She brought Jessamyn books, while she still had the strength to read, and other welcome items. A "mooring" papier-mâché cow, for instance, lightened the mood in the sanatorium, if only for a brief moment. Grace eventually bought four of the cows and placed one in each wing.⁵³

Because complete rest was then the only cure for tuberculosis, the staff at La Vina employed immobilization to keep the patients still. Max McPherson indicated that attendants pinned Jessamyn's shoulders with sand bags to keep her from moving. Max was separated from his wife for extended periods of time during her illness. While Jessamyn was at the sanatorium, he continued his part-time studies at Berkeley and worked overtime to pay her medical bills.⁵⁴

After nearly a year in the sanatorium, Jessamyn had healed enough to go home to Yuba City. She was there for only six weeks before she relapsed with another hemorrhage. Readmitted to La Vina, and in even worse shape than before, Jessamyn grew increasingly despondent. She was too sick even to read. "If I could have thought of any decent way to kill myself," she said later, "I would have."⁵⁵ Tuberculosis destroyed the spirit, and suicidal tendencies were not uncommon with consumptives. For example, Harold Nixon's reckless behavior certainly hastened his own demise. Patients might endanger themselves simply by laughing, and even normal



Jessamyn West, in a graduation photo that appeared in the 1923 *Acropolis*. Jessamyn West majored in English at Whittier College, from which she graduated in 1923. She also was president of the Palmer Literary Society, played on the basketball and baseball teams, and was assistant editor of the yearbook. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

breathing alone could break open the lesions on the TB victim's lungs.

Harold Nixon, accompanied by Jessamyn's brother, Merle, had visited Jessamyn at La Vina not long after her admittance. The other TB patients recognized a "lunger" immediately; Harold died a few months later. After Harold's death, Frank Nixon had asked Eldo West, "Why is it that the brightest and the strongest, handsomest and best, get taken first?" Jessamyn was strongly moved by the profundity of the question and reflected:

It may have been the statement of one stricken father to another whose first born was not expected to live. In any case, I had often wondered whether or not Richard had encountered the same attitude in his own home. The best had been taken, and he, a substitute, a man on the second team, would have to struggle untiringly to take his place.⁵⁶

Jessamyn West was hospitalized at La Vina Sanatorium for nearly two years. Seeing little hope for recovery, her doctors told Grace West to take Jessamyn home to die among her loved ones. They needed her bed. Grace, however, entertained no thoughts of having her daughter come home just to die. At home, Grace nursed Jessamyn's slow rehabilitation by rekindling her spirit and re-instilling a will to live. Grace never gave up. Jessamyn shared this memory of her mother's healing gift: "I wasn't strong enough to read, but I could listen, and to keep me occupied she told me stories of her past, of growing up as a Quaker girl on a farm in southern Indiana at the turn of the century. She gave me the world she had known and the life she had lived and the dreams she had dreamed for my own use."⁵⁷ Grace nursed Jessamyn back to health at her Whittier home over a one-year period. Through determination and devotion, she saved Jessamyn's life. A major hurdle for her to overcome was Jessamyn's own lack of will. Years later, Eldo West informed Jessamyn that an additional factor was involved, "Your mother saved *your* life by prayer."⁵⁸ A six-week-old kitten named Samantha also played a key role in Jessamyn's recovery. She bonded with her pet. Through their companionship, Jessamyn began to care again.⁵⁹

At her mother's home, Jessamyn was finally able to discard the ten-pound bag of lead shot that she had been accustomed to placing on her chest, the last vestige of her sanatorium routine.⁶⁰ Slowly, she regained her strength and resumed keeping a journal. Since her youth, Jessamyn West had been an avid reader and a dedicated journal keeper, copying in a neat script the affecting literary passages that she found.⁶¹ As Jessamyn's recovery from tuberculosis progressed, she took pen in hand. TB was instrumental in West's overcoming her writing inhibition. Illness was the stimulus, Max McPherson noted, that "made her a writer." She reflected on the ordeal:

I have never been able to say that I blessed my bed-fast years, the lost ten years of my life, because they brought me to writing. They were too terrible. . . . And though it may be true that without those years I would never have come to writing, I still will not bless tuberculosis but choose rather to curse myself for what was uncourageous and stupid and undemanding in me.⁶²

Having to be extremely careful of exertion, she spent most of the next two years at her own home in bed.

Even after her health was restored, West favored writing in a propped-up, horizontal position, a lingering reminder of the five years she spent in bed as a consumptive.

Jessamyn West published her first short story in 1939, when she was thirty-six. By then, she had progressed from the bed to her couch, but was still prone to a horizontal life. In 1940, the McPhersons moved into the Napa home where Jessamyn West would reside for the rest of her life. As her health improved, Jessamyn created her own stories from the Indiana memories Grace had shared with her during the convalescence in Whittier. "She began to weave her mother's shared memories into structured stories with beginnings and endings and to build on the recollections with her own imagination," Whittier College English professor Ann Farmer said in describing how West used Grace's stories.⁶³ Max McPherson strongly encouraged Jessamyn to submit her stories to magazine publishers, but she resisted. Although she remained reluctant, Max's nagging eventually succeeded. To her surprise, her works were readily accepted. Jessamyn's rise to literary prominence was, ironically, relatively easy.

Psychological and social factors both contributed to Jessamyn's delayed writing career. Her insecurity was partly due to a fear of failure, but was also a remnant of her religious upbringing. West explained her earlier reluctance to risk exposure:

Brought up in a Quaker family, I learned not to give myself away, not to be a fool. Anyone who is going to write has to violate all that learning. . . . To even hint that I considered myself a writer, would seem pretentious, egotistical, vain. It simply didn't occur to me that I could put words on paper worthy of publication, words people would want to read.⁶⁴

It was only fate that propelled Jessamyn West into a career of which she had only dreamt.

Jessamyn West's first published book, *The Friendly Persuasion*, was also her most famous. Released in 1945, *The Friendly Persuasion* has been translated into at least fifteen languages. Originally published as individual magazine pieces, the stories were unified by a common cast of characters, the Birdwell family. West's depiction of Quaker farm life in Indiana is based, to an extent, on her own family history. "Insofar as it is anyone's experience, [it] is the experience of my great-grandparents as remembered by my mother from tales told her by her parents," she

Richard Nixon, who attended Whittier several years after his cousin Jessamyn graduated, is shown here on a mountain outing during his student days. Courtesy Whittier College.



JESSAMYN AND RICHARD

explained.⁶⁵ Jessamyn's great-grandparents, Joshua and Elizabeth Milhous, were, of course, also Richard Nixon's great-grandparents.

The Friendly Persuasion stories took place over a period of time ranging from the 1840s to the 1880s, corresponding chronologically to the days of Joshua and Elizabeth Milhous. But Jess and Eliza Birdwell, the main characters, were actually modeled on Grace's parents. Professor Ann Farmer explains that West definitely distinguished between fiction and family history: "West gives her characters family names and traits more often than she uses the happenings of her family's past."⁶⁶ Jessamyn, for instance, portrayed Milhous family idiosyncrasies. The Birdwell's daughter, Mattie, was unhappy with her given name. She wanted to be called "Gladys," which in real life was Grace West's exact wish.

Jessamyn West recalled that one of her Milhous cousins took exception to certain passages in the magazine stories. Writing to Grace West and Whittier College English professor Herbert Harris, the cousin upbraided Jessamyn's use of language. The offending words included "ain't" (never used by any Milhous) and "duck dung." The cousin urged expurgation.

Jessamyn was doubly incensed, not only because of the call for censorship, but also because it had been done behind her back.⁶⁷ This typifies the pressure Jessamyn West felt she had to overcome to "start writing honestly." Nonetheless, to create a certain fictional distance in her work, she did change the family name used in the magazine articles. "Millhouse" became "Birdwell" in the published collection, *The Friendly Persuasion*.

Jessamyn West achieved literary renown relatively quickly, considering that she reached the best-seller list within six years of publishing her first short story. Richard Nixon attained fame—and notoriety—even more quickly. But the cousins rarely saw each other. Familial gatherings, such as weddings, offered the best opportunity for the two most notable Milhouses to get together. They also maintained an infrequent, though cordial correspondence.

Vice President Nixon invited the McPhersons to the Eisenhower inaugurals, but they were unable to attend. Jessamyn West did accept Richard's invitation in early 1960 to attend a formal state dinner in Washington, D.C. The event honored Charles de Gaulle, and she recollected that she had a magnificent time. Jessamyn and her husband also joined a group of around two-hundred relatives who witnessed Richard Nixon's 1969 presidential inauguration. The following year, President Nixon arranged for Jessamyn to be invited to join the American delegation on a visit to Ireland. Jessamyn's most recent trip to Ireland in 1956 had been of great consequence to the McPhersons, and the vice president's

assistance on that occasion had left her indebted to him for the rest of her life. While visiting Limerick, she had become acquainted with an eleven-year-old Irish street waif named Ann McCarthy. Jessamyn was intrigued by her encounter with the thin, red-headed girl, and initiated a friendship. West extended her stay in Limerick, met the McCarthy family, and found their living conditions to be pitiful. Mrs. McCarthy was a widow who supported six children and her elderly mother. Her meager wage as a scrub woman amounted to seventy-five cents per day. The entire family was undernourished.

In a short amount of time, Jessamyn West came to love Ann McCarthy, a girl she referred to as a "witty little street gamine." She wished to bring Ann to the United States to live with them in Napa. Before asking Ann, though, Jessamyn needed to call home and explain her proposal to Max McPherson. "He naturally thought I was crazy," she reflected in *Double Discovery*.⁶⁸ Although they had wanted children since the early days of their marriage, tuberculosis had prevented that aspiration. Now at the age of fifty-four (Max was then fifty-five), Jessamyn West was about to become a foster mother. It was around Thanksgiving vacation, and Max was able to leave his post as Napa superintendent of schools to join her in Ireland.

Upon meeting Ann McCarthy, Max McPherson needed no further persuasion to bring her to America. He even suggested that Ann's older sister, Jean, come home with them for Ann's companionship. With a heavy heart, Mrs. McCarthy approved of the idea. Jessamyn wrote, "She was an unselfish woman and had her daughters' welfare at heart. Thinking of them, and not of herself, she said yes to our request to take the girls home with us to rear and educate them as our own."⁶⁹ Max arranged for the McCarthy sisters' departure, unaware of the bureaucratic red tape that would soon entangle their plans.

The McPhersons had engaged an attorney in Limerick to handle the legal details of the emigration. What caught them by surprise was a snare closer to home. The archbishop of San Francisco conveyed to Irish authorities that the state of California frowned upon adoptions where the faiths of the children and parents differed. The McCarthy girls were Catholic, and Jessamyn and Max were Quakers. Even after the McPhersons promised to raise them as Catholics, and with lobbying from their Catholic friends in Napa, the archbishop would not acquiesce. In late

December 1956, Jessamyn and Max were frustrated by the delays, and felt stymied.

Jessamyn West wondered if the vice president of the United States might carry more weight in immigration matters than the archbishop of San Francisco. She wrote to Nixon, seeking his assistance. In a three-page letter, Jessamyn explained the McCarthy girls' circumstances, and the delay with their passports. She requested him to write to the Irish minister of external affairs expressing an interest in the case, accompanied by a character reference for herself and Max. Jessamyn added a touch of levity with her request by informing the vice president that "privately, I promise you to bring them up Republicans."⁷⁰ Using a public official in this manner violated Jessamyn's own beliefs to a certain extent, but she was desperate to get the McCarthy sisters into the country.

Nixon replied to Jessamyn's letter on January 29, 1957, with encouragement about bringing the girls over, calling it a "most generous and understandable gesture." Unfortunately, he felt he could not intercede with the Irish minister of external affairs. "The standard practice during this Administration," Nixon explained, "is that only members of the House and Senate should properly intercede in behalf of constituents from their districts or States. Under the circumstances, any intervention on my part, as you can see, would be so unprecedented that it would undoubtedly raise such a storm that more harm than good would be done."⁷¹ On a lighter note, he mentioned that he and Pat had gone to see *Friendly Persuasion*, "and we enjoyed immensely seeing my ancestors come to life so vividly in the fine movie adaption of your book." The McPhersons' discouragement in Napa at this point must have been acute, but the wheels of influence were at least turning.

After reconsidering his initial stance, Richard Nixon wrote a two-page letter to William Howard Taft III, American ambassador to Ireland. In this carefully worded missive, dated February 14, 1957, he summarized the situation of the McCarthy girls and described the McPhersons' attempts to bring them to America. Then, he made the following appeal:

As you may know, I follow a practice of not intervening in the orderly processing of individual immigration and passport cases, and I do not want to make an exception in this instance. However, I understand that one of the factors taken into consideration in passport application cases is the char-



Bestselling author Jessamyn West, speaking at the Whittier College Alumni Luncheon, June 12, 1954. Seated to her left is her cousin Richard Nixon. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

acter and reputation of the sponsors, as well as their financial ability to take care of the applicants.

In this regard, I can personally vouch for the fact that the McPhersons are morally and financially able to care for the children, that they will bring them up in the Catholic faith, although they are not Catholics themselves, and that they will give the girls an excellent education and a good home. Mrs. McPherson, whom you may know as Jessamyn West, the author of *The Friendly Persuasion*, is my cousin; she, her husband, who is the Superintendent of Schools in Napa, and I grew up in the same community, and we have known each other all our lives.⁷²

In addition, the vice president emphasized that he was not seeking any special consideration or favors, but that he wished to supply information that would be helpful in determining the case on its own merits.

Arthur Emmons, the chargé d'affaires at the American Embassy in Dublin, responded to Vice President Nixon on February 19, 1957. "I am sure," he wrote, "that you will be pleased to learn that the Irish authorities have relented from their earlier reluctance to issue a passport in this rather delicate and complex case and that the Embassy has thus been enabled immediately to complete the necessary visas. The two McCarthy children now have reservations to leave Ireland on March 2, 1957."⁷³ Having friends in high places helped.

Jessamyn West was indebted to her cousin. She wrote him a letter of gratitude on April 8, stating: "I can not thank you in any words which are capable of repaying you, Richard, for the letter which you wrote to Ireland in regard to the McCarthy girls coming to live with us." In conclusion, she wrote that "for giving them this opportunity I am deeply grateful to you. Nothing *can* repay it, except the lives these two girls will now have the opportunity to lead."⁷⁴ Vice President Nixon had acted from the heart. He had nothing to gain from helping Jessamyn, not even her vote. He wrote a short, warm note to her April 15, 1957, saying, in part:

Pat and I were delighted to learn that Ann and [Jean] are now in California and that they will soon be with you and Max in Napa. I feel sure that your plans for the girls would have been successful, but if my letter facilitated the proceedings, I can think of no one I would rather have been able to help than you. . . .

P.S. Our daughter Julie (8) saw *Friendly Persuasion* for the 4th time Saturday!⁷⁵

Ann and Jean McCarthy arrived in the United States as foster children, not adoptees. The McPhersons respected Mrs. McCarthy as the girls' actual mother. Later, when complimented on their courage in bringing in the children, Jessamyn West remarked,



Founders Hall, Whittier College, ca. 1920. Completed in 1894, Founders Hall was the original building and the center of campus activities in the early days of the college. It held the library, all classrooms, and a 400-seat lecture auditorium. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

"It was not courage but ignorance that had permitted us to become foster parents."⁷⁶ Jean eventually returned to her family in Ireland, but Ann stayed with the McPhersons. Max McPherson officially adopted Ann McCarthy Cash, then age forty-six, in 1990. He said that he and Jessamyn "couldn't have loved Ann any more than if she had been their own."⁷⁷

Nearly fifteen years after the McCarthy girls arrived in America, in October 1970 Jessamyn West returned to Ireland for the third time. She met President and Mrs. Nixon, and their official entourage in Limerick, the town where she had first encountered her foster daughter, Ann. In part, Jessamyn was fulfilling an obligation to interview Pat Nixon for *Good Housekeeping*. She was also invited to Ireland by President Nixon in her capacity as "family historian." The president was to participate in a memorial ceremony in Timahoe, the town from which their Milhous ancestors had emigrated two hundred and forty years previously. The Irish tour schedules were programmed down to the last minute, allowing Jessamyn no free time to conduct Pat Nixon's interview. They agreed to talk on Air Force One during the return flight home.

Before leaving Ireland, West had a chance to get acquainted with some of President Nixon's closest associates. She stayed in Dromoland Castle, where long-time Nixon secretary Rose Mary Woods and some of Pat's relatives were. At the dinner following the Timahoe memorial ceremony, Jessamyn was seated between Dr. Henry Kissinger and Bob Halde- man, but she preferred Daniel Patrick Moynihan's company afterwards. They enjoyed a program featuring Irish songs and dancing. Jessamyn felt appreciably more comfortable with her fellow Irishman, Moynihan. Caught up in the "wit and poetry, grace and song" of the entertainment, Jessamyn said to him, "Perhaps we made a mistake in ever leaving Ireland":

Moynihan, round pink face calm and baby-blue eyes cold, looked at me with disbelief. "Don't be silly," said he.

I was being silly, and I have cherished his reply, defusing my small-talk prattle, as the wisest words I heard in Ireland.⁷⁸

West's interview with Pat Nixon appeared in the February 1971 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. "The Real Pat Nixon: an Intimate View" is an insightful and

illuminating piece. Jessamyn encountered resistance from the First Lady, who was more willing to cite statistics about her travels than to respond to how she *felt* about them. West's goal was to portray who Pat Nixon was, rather than what she had done. She wrote that "Pat Nixon's face is a private face: by bone structure, by its owner's temperament, by her punishing and cruel experiences as a girl, by the reason of 30 years of political exposure."⁷⁹ Jessamyn's article was as penetrating as anything ever written about the late former first lady.

During the flight, Jessamyn and Pat were joined by President Nixon. Jessamyn felt that he was much easier to talk to. After discussing the Nixons' daughters, she asked the president for a favor, autographs for her Irish foster daughters:

He wrote with a flourish: "Best wishes from your Irish cousin, Richard Nixon."

"You're getting a little old to be a cousin to those girls, Dick," Pat said. "Once a cousin, always a cousin," said the President in a jaunty tone. "Blame Jessamyn for acquiring children at her age, if she doesn't want them to have elderly cousins."⁸⁰

West never saw her cousin again after their 1970 ride on Air Force One. When Richard Nixon resigned from the presidency, a young woman sent him an encouraging telegram, "An Irish girl you helped will always bless you. Ann McCarthy."⁸¹

WHITTIER COLLEGE

Jessamyn West had graduated from Whittier College in 1923, with a degree in English. There were 208 students attending Whittier at that time.⁸² From the college's inception, no national fraternities or sororities have been permitted on campus, but during the 1920s, literary "societies" emerged in their place.

These Whittier societies essentially became fraternal and sororal. West was a founding member of the Palmer Literary Society (formed in 1922) and was its president her senior year. She participated in a wide number of campus activities, including "Inter-collegiate Vaudeville." A talented athlete, Jessamyn played basketball for two years and was also on the baseball team. She was a contributor to the school's weekly newspaper, *The Quaker Campus*, and assisted editing the college yearbook, *The Acropolis*.

Richard Nixon entered Whittier College seven years after his cousin graduated. In reference to his activities as student body president, he received the

following accolade in *The Acropolis*: "After one of the most successful years the college has ever witnessed, we stop to reminisce, and come to the realization that much of the success was due to the efforts of this very gentleman. Always progressive and with a liberal attitude, he has led us through the year with flying colors."⁸³ Richard majored in history, and graduated second in his class in 1934.

While he attended Whittier College, total enrollment had increased to 469 students, the largest number to that point.⁸⁴ Nixon joined the football and basketball teams, but displayed little athletic prowess. He performed much more ably as a champion debater, leading Whittier College to statewide prominence.

Like his older cousin, Nixon was one of the founding members of a society, the Orthogonians. He was elected their first president during his freshman year, in 1930. Richard also performed in a number of collegiate theatrical productions, and his involvement with and enjoyment of the theater had significant consequences for him. Nixon met his future wife, Patricia Ryan, at a tryout for a community theater production in 1938. Lessons learned on the college stage would also greatly benefit his future careers in law and politics.

Professor Paul S. Smith arrived at the college in the fall of 1922. He taught all of the social science courses—history, political science, economics, and sociology. West and Nixon, both students of his, considered him an outstanding teacher, and he maintained close contact with each throughout their respective careers. After teaching at Whittier for twenty-nine years, Paul Smith ascended to the college presidency in 1951.

When Nixon was elected to the Whittier College Board of Trustees in 1939, he was the youngest trustee in the college's history. He served until 1968, resigning after he earned his second Republican nomination for the presidency. In fact, Nixon was an active member of the college's governing body during nearly his entire active political career. Jessamyn West joined the trustees in 1969, and served until failing health forced her to resign in 1982. Paul Smith was greatly responsible for Nixon's and West's loyal involvement with their alma mater over the years.

President Smith also spearheaded the creation of an endowed chair named in Nixon's honor, the Richard Nixon Chair of Public Affairs. Established in 1956, it was funded by an independently raised

endowment of \$100,000. Visiting "Nixon Scholars" now spend several days on campus meeting with Whittier classes. In the past, they had the option of teaching five-week courses offered for college credit. A diverse array of notable scholars have filled the chair, including Bernadette Devlin, Julian Bond, Jessamyn West, James Roosevelt, S.I. Hayakawa, Lee Strasburg, Edward Teller, Stephen Ambrose, and Bruce Babbitt. While he was alive, Richard Nixon exercised no control over appointments to "his" chair. Loyal Nixon supporters such as Bruce Herschensohn and former speechwriter Ray Price have also been Nixon Scholars. Representing the other end of the political spectrum were cartoonist Paul Conrad and former rival for the presidency, George McGovern. The educational experience at Whittier College has been greatly enriched by the presence of these eminent visitors.

Jessamyn West and Richard Nixon appeared on campus jointly on three occasions: for commencement exercises in 1954 and 1959, and in 1962 for the special fortieth-anniversary salute to Whittier College President Paul Smith. Jessamyn West often stole the show with her speeches, at one point prompting the vice president to ad lib:

After all, what can I say to the class of 1959 that could add to what you have learned from the dedicated members of the Whittier faculty; and just now from the eloquence of the one my father always contended was the most brilliant member of my family, Jessamyn West? And particularly after what she has had to say about words, I know that mine will be inadequate and had she not spoken so disparagingly of ghost writers I was tempted to ask her to become mine for this occasion and in the future.⁸⁵

Jessamyn West, a liberal, coexisted well with her conservative cousin. At one of their Whittier College engagements, she stated, "No doubt Richard would be as loath to sign his name to all I have written as I am loath to stand behind all of his political opinions."⁸⁶ The two gave each other room on the podium, with the greatest benefit accruing to the appreciative members of the audience.

Nixon also participated in a number of new building dedications and groundbreakings on the Whittier campus. These ceremonies were often performed concurrently with his commencement appearances. At the 1965 commencement, Nixon presented comedian Bob Hope with the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. On the previous day, he had



Richard Nixon, standing center, with other members of the Whittier College football team during his sophomore year, 1931. Nixon lacked the size and talent to excel at football, but it did not stop him from trying. Like his cousin Jessamyn, Richard would win honors with his communication skills. As a debater, he won regional competitions. He also participated extensively in Whittier College theatrical productions, and was student body president during his senior year. *Courtesy Whittier College.*

delivered the dedication speech for the Bonnie Bell Wardman Library. It was a special occasion for Dick Nixon; Aubrey and Bonnie Wardman had been among his earliest and most loyal supporters.

Jessamyn West and Max McPherson served Whittier College generously as benefactors. West donated her extensive personal library and all of her literary manuscripts to Whittier, including her screenplay drafts for William Wyler's film, *Friendly Persuasion*.

President Ronald Reagan in 1988 presented Mikhail Gorbachev with a videotape of the film. Reagan glowingly described *Friendly Persuasion*, a movie made at the height of the Cold War, as about "not just the tragedy of war, but the problems of pacifism, the nobility of patriotism, as well as the love of peace."⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that there was no writing credit for the 1956 movie. Michael Wilson, a blacklisted writer, had written the first *Friendly Per-*

suasion screenplay ten years earlier. William Wyler was not satisfied with the script, and enlisted Jessamyn West to develop it further. She was assisted with the screenwriting by the director's brother, Robert Wyler. After a Writers' Guild arbitration ruled that sole writing credit should go to Michael Wilson, William Wyler released the film without acknowledging any scriptwriter at all.⁸⁸

Richard Nixon has also been a generous benefactor of the college. In 1979, former President and Mrs. Nixon bestowed upon his alma mater a trove of unique artifacts, most of which they received during Nixon's vice presidential travels, including gifts given to him by Nikita Khrushchev, Deng Xiaoping, King Saud, President Sukarno, David Ben Gurion, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and other notable figures. The Nixons also provided for the refurbishing of a room in Wardman Library to display the gifts. For their support over many years, both Richard Nixon and Jessamyn West received honorary degrees from their alma mater.

COUSINS OF DISTINCTION

Beyond their common Quaker, family, and community heritage, the lives of the two cousins were marked by similar patterns. Each, for instance, made a dramatic comeback after having been counted out. Both also became best-selling authors. Richard Nixon is the most famous (and infamous) Milhous. Ironically, this man who remained before the public as a political outcast until his death in 1994 came to be regarded by the public as a type of elder statesman and a renowned author. Nixon wrote nine books between his 1974 resignation and his death. Despite the shadow cast by Watergate, Nixon developed into a respected authority on foreign affairs and enjoyed considerable literary success. Although Jessamyn West has been dead for a decade, her literary reputation is secure. During her lifetime, she published twenty-one books, encompassing a range of literary genres: novels, short stories, essays, poetry, autobiography, screenplays, science fiction, and operetta. Two additional works, a final novel and her collected short stories, have been released since West's death in 1984.

The cousins shared other common connections. Each benefitted from early debating experiences, and both developed a fine talent for public speaking. Richard Nixon was the consummate politician. A polished and professional speaker, he emerged after

his retirement as a respected writer. Both played in different arenas, but on occasion shared the same stage. Somewhat older and maybe a little wiser, Jessamyn held her own when they did.

On an April 1993 episode of the television game show "Jeopardy," a clue in the category "Famous Americans" read, "Writer Jessamyn West babysat this cousin who grew up to become President in the 1960's."⁸⁹ The correct response, obviously, was "Who is Richard Nixon?" Over the years, West downplayed this particular aspect of their relationship. After their Whittier College commencement appearance in 1954, she wrote to Vice President Nixon expressing second thoughts about mentioning her babysitting there. She indicated that, instead, she should have said "I don't know the Vice President very well but I *have* slept with his father." Jessamyn was alluding to the times in her youth when she had shared a bed with Frank (and Hannah, too) while staying with the Nixons. Quite amused by the anecdote, Richard responded that he was sorry that it had not been told at the Whittier luncheon.⁹⁰

Jessamyn West not only served the Milhous family well as historian, but also the biographers of her cousin. Her recollections, enriched by the novelist's gift of insight and storytelling, have added luminous detail to the Nixon family's early days. She was a useful background source for most of Richard Nixon's biographers. The former president, who had been driven from office in disgrace, sent his cousin a copy of his *Memoirs* in May 1978. The self-deprecating inscription read: "For Jessamyn, the most *noted* writer of the Milhous clan, from the most *notorious* amateur. Dick Nixon." CHS

See notes beginning on page 254.

Joseph Dmohowski is the special collections librarian at Wardman Library, Whittier College, where he has worked for the last nine years. He earned an MSLS from the University of Southern California, and BA and MA degrees in sociology from California State University, Los Angeles. This is his first published work.



Whittier College president Paul S. Smith walking with Richard Nixon at the 1965 commencement. Dr. Paul Smith was an influential educator; he taught both Jessamyn West and Richard Nixon. He considered them to be among his very best students and closely followed their respective careers. *Courtesy Whittier College.*



The Capay Valley, in the western Sacramento Valley. The area's history illustrates the importance of corporate influence in Central Valley history. In the late 1880s, the Southern Pacific Company purchased, subdivided, and sold the land in this area, building irrigation facilities and founding several towns. Agricultural development first included wheat-growing and cattle-raising, but was shifted by the railroad's activities into orchard and row crops. *Photograph by Stephen Johnson, from The Great Central Valley Project, copyright 1993.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

The Great Central Valley: California's Heartland.

By Stephen Johnson, Gerald Haslam, and Robert Dawson. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press in Association with the California Academy of Sciences, 1993, ix, 252 pp., \$35.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Sally M. Miller, professor of history at the University of the Pacific, whose most recent book is the edited John Muir: Life and Work (1993).

The publication of this book is part of a growing swell of scholarly activity that suggests that the Central Valley at last may be achieving the attention it merits. Traditionally overwhelmed by academic and media focus on Los Angeles and San Francisco, the coast, and the Sierra, the valley has lately been the subject of major books such as *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1869–1910* by Sucheng Chan, as well as conferences and lecture series. Currently home to over six million people, with the fastest growing population of the state, and producing twenty-five per cent of the nation's table food on less and less acreage, the Central Valley can no longer be ignored.

This book is a superb addition to the literature. Profusely illustrated, it includes a plethora of contemporary and historical photographs, and a host of drawings, maps, and reproductions of early canned-goods labels. But offering more than coffee-table attractiveness, the book is an outstanding synthesis of recent assessments of the Central Valley's history and ecology. It also includes timely quotations from some of the region's major authors, such as Joan Didion, Richard Rodriguez, William Saroyan, and Maxine Hong Kingston, as well as other literary commentators. Interspersed are anecdotal and oral history materials as running commentaries from valley residents, all of which provide readers with fascinating, multi-faceted appraisals. This book originated as *The Great Central Valley Project* in 1982, undertaken by two photographers native to the valley, Stephen Johnson of Foothill College and Robert Dawson of San Jose State University and City College of San Francisco, which led to a symposium and an exhibit in 1986 at the California Academy of Sciences. Gerald Haslam, a professor of English at Sonoma State University and another child of the valley, provided the text for the volume.

The writing is framed by an environmental perspective, and Haslam is careful to include points of view at variance from his own. His narrative uses as its point of departure commentary from William Henry Brewer, who was part of the California State Geological Survey team from 1860 to 1864. By that time, the Great Valley as a whole was recognized as offering enormous potential for development, but with two problems, a lack of a dependable, all-season water-supply and a paucity of labor. The quest for both, according to the author, explains the configuration of, as well as many of the problems of, the valley today.

The late-eighteenth-century arrival of the Spaniards and later of Mexican control initiated dramatic changes. The great Mexican land grants established a permanent pattern of huge holdings by a few. Non-native grasses, cattle, and horses were introduced, and trappers exterminated a great variety of mammals. Subsequently, under American control, California experienced the gold mine era, which saw the cutting of sluices and channels and the clogging of valley rivers with debris, resulting in the destruction of habitats and the promotion of flooding. The author describes the influx of settlers who supplied the missing labor source for agribusiness, and he discusses the alteration of the land, with what Donald Worster terms an "intensely managerial relationship with nature" holding sway. That approach has led to the deterioration of natural resources, including riverine forests, wetlands, and fish, as well as the creation of subsidence problems, overpumped ground water, and toxic residue in the soil. Many more aspects of the Central Valley are covered in this rich book than can be mentioned in a review. While its organization leads to repetition and its impressive illustrations are somewhat hampered by captions nearly illegible for lack of contrast, the three collaborators have made a solid contribution to the field. CHS

The University of California Press: The Early Years, 1893–1953.

By Albert Muto. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, xiv, 300 pp., \$30.00 cloth.)

A Skeptic Among Scholars: August Frugé on University Publishing.

By August Frugé. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, xii, 365 pp., \$40.00 cloth, \$12.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Norris Pope, director of Stanford University Press and author of Dickens and Charity.

University presses can often seem puzzling to outsiders. On the one hand, they are university departments, and on the other hand, businesses. Their task is to bring new knowledge into the world, but their value turns substantially on refusing to publish things, numerically their primary activity. All are or have been significantly subsidized in one fashion or another, but all are engaged in vigorous marketing and selling activities. They

exist as staffs, offices, and warehouses, but they also exist within academic disciplines and within systems for the generation, scrutiny, development, and exchange of knowledge. In almost all cases, control over the imprint is vested in a faculty board, and is not in the hands of the press itself. Finally, although their products earn a small fraction of national publishing income, their books contribute a disproportionately large number of the lasting ideas that reach the world in book form.

Albert Muto's lucid and carefully researched account of the early history of University of California Press sheds light on the initial development of what is today one of the largest and most influential university presses in North America. The story is at once familiar and unique. Like most North American university presses, UC Press began as a service agency for producing faculty monographs for library exchange, an activity eventually linked—unhappily, as it turned out—with a facility to provide printing services to the university. Indeed, the tension between the press's publishing and printing activities is one of the themes of Muto's book, a tension only resolved in the 1950s, when the two functions, joined together under one head in the early 1930s, were formally separated.

Most remarkable, however, is the extent to which the press's emergence as an important publishing house is a comparatively recent development. For its first forty years—from 1893 until 1933—the press was almost exclusively a faculty committee empowered to print series monographs for gift and exchange purposes. The appointment of Samuel Farquhar as press manager in 1933 furthered a practice (dating from the 1920s) of occasionally publishing general books, offered for sale; and Farquhar was allowed to set up a revolving risk fund to finance these projects, referred to as “separate works” (series monographs were fully expensed when they were produced). Farquhar's primary interest, however, seems to have been in the design and production of individual books in the fine print tradition, and not in the development of an ambitious and competitive publishing program. Yet it would be easy to overlook the scholarly value of the series monographs. These paperbound works—running from several pages to five hundred pages in length, but typically falling somewhere between article length and book length—were a highly appropriate medium up through the 1960s (and in some cases still today) for the dissemination of new knowledge based on academic research. Indeed, Muto estimates that in the period up to 1933 the press issued over two thousand series publications in thirty-three separate series; and it was not until the mid-1960s that “separate works” outnumbered series monographs. The decline of series monographs, insightfully discussed in an appendix on series publications, by Lincoln Constance, was a function not only of changes in the publishing environment but also of changes in the character of research and scholarship—changes that resulted in the two predominant modes of scholarly publication today, books and journal articles.

A final point about the Muto book. Readers unfamiliar with the nature of university presses may be surprised to find how

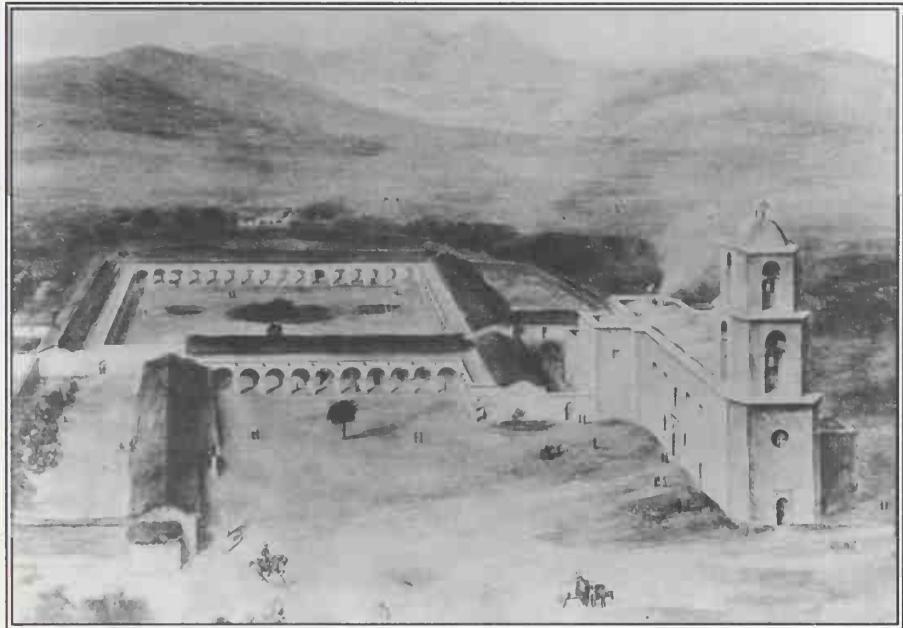
closely the early history of the press is bound up with the politics and evolution of UC administration, and with the broader growth and goals of North American research universities—the latter dating from the final quarter of the nineteenth century and founded on the so-called “German model” (with Johns Hopkins serving as the leading exemplar). It is impossible to understand the growth of the press without taking these two contexts into account.

The transformation of UC Press into a modern and highly successful publishing house occurred under the aegis of August Frugé, who was hired by the press in 1944 and took complete charge of its publishing in 1949, on the death of Samuel Farquhar. Frugé's lively and readable memoir is testimony to a vigorous and forceful mind, capable of both subtlety and wit. The book is generous-spirited throughout, but it is not reluctant to express blunt judgments and opinions. It also documents its author's prescient grasp of the direction and potential of university publishing, within a press established firmly on the print-and-exchange model.

Early in the book, Frugé notes that a publisher “may be an amateur of scholarship, amateur in the sense of lover.” It is tempting to suggest that the difference between a competent scholarly publisher and a distinguished one lies precisely in joining this affection for the content of books to a thorough understanding of the often tricky business of publishing. Judged by this standard, Frugé emerges unequivocally as distinguished. He writes interestingly about a very wide range of books, meditating on their academic significance as well as on their importance for the press and the growth of its list. Much of the book is devoted to this kind of retrospect, ranging from discussions of Ishi and Carlos Castañeda, to the Pepys *Diary* and massive Twain Project, to art history, and to the Sather Lectures in classics—a subject for which Frugé shows a marked fondness (which led him to take classes in ancient Greek). What one gets from this is a remarkable perspective on both the content and contingent circumstances of academic scholarship, defining a mixed space in which books exist simultaneously as ideas and as objects wrought by joint enterprise and institutional exigencies (this without in any way diminishing the genius of authors, or at least of those authors with real genius—by no means all authors, Frugé reminds us!).

Publishers will find this book full of wisdom and insight, even when they disagree with particular views; and they are also likely to feel a twinge of envy for someone who can so conspicuously enjoy an intellectual and personal engagement with such a distinguished group of books. Others will find the book an engaging window into the world of university-press publishing, providing a useful vantage point for pondering the history of the press's remarkable parent institution. Finally, it is routinely said that publishers are generally much better at publishing books than at writing them. This book is an excellent counterexample. It should be numbered among the handful of publishers' books on publishing of interest outside press offices. [CHS]

Largest of the California mission churches, the second edifice at Mission San Juan Capistrano, completed in the early 1800s, appears at the right in this late nineteenth-century painting. Originally built in the 1780s, most of the mission, including the large church, was destroyed in the earthquake of 1812. An older and smaller interior chapel survived, and is now the main church. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*



Southern California's Spanish Heritage: An Anthology

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed. Foreword by the Honorable Eduardo Garrigues, Consul General of Spain in Los Angeles. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1992, 375 pp., illustrations, index, \$90.00.)

Reviewed by Thomas F. Schilz, *professor of history and chair, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, San Diego Miramar College.*

The history of the Spanish experience in southern California has been described in several works, but *Southern California's Spanish Heritage: An Anthology* is a useful compendium for the casual reader. Drawn from the pages of *Southern California Quarterly*, the book covers a wealth of subject matter.

Spanish settlement left more than just a maze of Iberian place names on California's maps. The agricultural economy, architecture, and tempo of life reflect Hispanic, not northern European, roots. Yet Alta California was the last outpost of imperial Spain in the New World. Motivated by a desire to defend Mexico's silver mines, Spanish strategists reacted to a perceived threat of Russian expansion southward from Unalaska as a reason for settling the area. California was not unique among Spanish outposts in being a bastion for Mexico (Texas was colonized for essentially the same purpose three-quarters of a century earlier), but it is ironic that Spain, so often motivated by the thirst for mineral treasures, was never able to find and exploit the wealth that John Sutter's workers found in the Sierra Nevada foothills seventy-nine years after Spanish colonization began.

Most of the articles in this anthology cover the phases of exploration and church colonizing. Donald Nuttall's article on Gaspar de Portolá is especially intriguing, as Nuttall points out that Portolá viewed Alta California as indefensible and regarded colonization as a waste of time, effort, and money. Despite these opinions, Portolá overcame several difficulties and carried out his duty superbly.

In regard to church colonization, the book tends to underestimate the disastrous effects of forced Christianization on California's Indian population. From the foreword by the Spanish Consul General, Eduardo Garrigues, who states that Spaniards did not kill California Indians with the enthusiastic, racist abandon of the later forty-niners (true, they starved them to death instead) to Francis Guest's defense of Junípero Serra's abuse of mission neophytes (he only beat Indians because he loved them and, anyway, everybody else was doing it), the damage done by Iberian colonizers in their zeal to spread their religion and culture is treated as a minor inconvenience in an otherwise serendipitous relationship between Spaniards and Indians.

The most enjoyable article is certainly Theodore Treutlein's short piece on the correct name for Los Angeles ("Nuestra Señora de los Angeles on the Porciuncula River") and why it is known as "la Reina de los Angeles" (because Portolá and his men celebrated the feast of the Queen of the Angels on that spot in August 1769). Such small matters are part of the joy of history.

Southern California's Spanish Heritage: An Anthology is certainly an enjoyable book, and one that southern Californians should treasure. The Historical Society of Southern California has done an excellent job of putting together a satisfying work. CHS



St. Vibiana, the Catholic cathedral of Los Angeles, in a photograph by Carleton Watkins, taken shortly after it was constructed in 1876. The decision to build the stately cathedral away from the old pueblo church led to an informal segregation of congregations, as Anglo-whites almost exclusively attended the new cathedral while the Spanish-speaking Catholics retained their ties to *Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles* on the plaza. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Frontier Faiths: Church, Temple, and Synagogue in Los Angeles, 1846–1888.

By Michael E. Engh, S.J. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992, xix, 267 pp., \$32.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Mark S. Still, chairman of the history department and associate professor of history, College of San Mateo.

In this extensively researched and carefully crafted study, Father Engh examines the development of religion in Los Angeles from the time of the American conquest, when Roman Catholicism enjoyed a religious monopoly, until the late 1880s, by which time Protestantism had established its religious and cultural hegemony and Los Angeles had indeed become a city of churches. As its title suggests, the work is a wide-ranging one, encompassing Judaism and Chinese religion in addition to Christianity.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that Engh's narrative is balanced by a strong analytical component. Engh is not so much concerned with advancing a central thesis as he is with developing a series of related themes. In the first place, Engh maintains that southern California was an exception to the usual patterns of religious pioneering in frontier areas of the U.S. The evangelical denominations (Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Disciples of Christ), so successful in other frontier areas, met an unfamiliar challenge in the historic strength of the Roman Catholic Church—one with which they were ill-equipped to deal. Other factors retarded the evangelical advance, not the least of which was the lack of a suffi-

cient base to form congregations, given the slowness with which Protestant Anglo-Americans migrated into the area. Consequently, the evangelicals were unable to establish permanent congregations until the late 1860s and early 1870s, while groups that had not been leaders in pioneering on other frontiers, such as Jews, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists, planted themselves earlier. The Episcopal Church benefited from the social prestige conferred by many early Army officers being of that communion, while Jews and Congregationalists profited from early immigration of members of their groups from their respective homelands in Germany and New England.

Another theme developed by Engh is the unusual cooperation between Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in establishing and providing for charitable and educational institutions. Along a related line, Engh also chronicles the work of the Daughters of Charity in Los Angeles. In so doing he emphasizes not only the significant role played by women in the city's religious life, but also the sisters' service in "bridging the two major divisions within local society" (p. 160): one involving displaced Catholic Hispanics and the other relating to the chasm between the growing Anglo-American population and the European-born Catholic clergy. Finally, Engh treats Bishop Thaddeus Amat's efforts to bring local Catholicism into conformity with Catholic practice as prescribed by Rome. Such actions as the replacement of Mary by Vibiana as the diocese's patron saint, the construction of a new cathedral reflecting baroque rather than Spanish colonial architecture, and disdain for *frontera* religious practice (such as Christmas *pastorelas*) resulted in alienation of Hispan-

ics from their mother church at a time when they were already suffering from political and economic marginalization.

Any criticisms of this book are relatively minor ones. One could wish for greater amplification of the concept of the "frontier" that figures so prominently in the analysis. Also one wonders about the extent of the uniqueness of southern California's religious development in the post-Mexican War period. Some comparison with Protestant inroads in other recently acquired areas of the Southwest might have been instructive. Nevertheless, this book will deservedly take its place alongside other works published in recent years that greatly illuminate our understanding of the development of religion in California during the Gold Rush and ensuing decades. CHS

Legacy of a Native Son: James Duval Phelan and Villa Montalvo.

By James P. Walsh and Timothy J. O'Keefe. Introduction by Kevin Starr. (Los Gatos, CA: Forbes Mill Press, 1993, xii, 336 pp., \$23.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert W. Cherny, professor of history at San Francisco State University, co-author with William Issel of San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development, and author of A Righteous Cause: The Life of William Jennings Bryan and other works.

James Duval Phelan stands with Hiram Johnson as one of the two most significant political figures in California between 1890 and the mid-1920s. Heir to a fortune in banking and real estate, Phelan held high ideals of public service. He was elected mayor of San Francisco three times (serving 1897-1902) and led the city to adopt a new charter. Patron of the arts and advocate of civic beautification, he contributed generously for public monuments, libraries, and charities. Because of Phelan's unquestioned integrity, President Theodore Roosevelt selected him to dispense relief funds after the 1906 earthquake. As public official and private citizen, Phelan worked tirelessly to develop the Hetch Hetchy Valley as a city reservoir. He helped to fund the San Francisco Graft Prosecution, hoping to convict not only corrupt politicians but also the corporate officials who had bribed them. California's leading Democrat during the progressive era, Phelan won election to the United States Senate in 1914 but made little mark on national politics.

In this volume, professors Walsh and O'Keefe survey all these aspects of Phelan's public career and add a thorough and sympathetic treatment of his personal life. Although known prominently as a Catholic, Phelan apparently abandoned religion as a young man and never returned to the faith. He rejected marriage for himself but kept mistresses. The authors do not follow



In the introduction to *Legacy of a Native Son*, historian Kevin Starr described James Phelan as "an Edwardian gentleman. . . with exquisite taste." Indeed, the career politician and highly cultivated patron of the arts shared his Montalvo villa with a variety of accomplished people, many of whom he also generously supported. At his death, Phelan established a permanent endowment for the arts, assuring that his elegant Saratoga home would continue to be enjoyed as a public park and center for performing artists, poets, and musicians. *Courtesy Montalvo Association, Villa Montalvo.*

a strict chronological approach to their topic; thus, most of Phelan's 42-year relationship with Florence Ellon, his first mistress, is sketched at the point when she is first introduced.

Almost a third of the book deals with Villa Montalvo, the country house Phelan built near Saratoga in Santa Clara County. Named for the Spanish writer who supposedly coined the name "California," the villa was Phelan's special joy. His will specified that its grounds were to become a park and that the villa was to be used to encourage the arts. The final section of the book details the often rocky road by which those objectives were achieved.

Walsh is professor of history and dean at San Jose State Uni-

versity, and O'Keefe is associate professor of history at Santa Clara University. Walsh has written extensively on Irish Americans, especially Irish Californians; O'Keefe, too, has written previously on Irish topics. Thus, they provide a discerning treatment of Phelan's complex relationship with the Catholic Church and his Irish heritage, and they also present a revealing contrast between Phelan's approach to Irish issues and that of Father Peter Yorke, his frequent detractor. The authors seem on less familiar ground regarding some aspects of politics, but the few errors are not significant for understanding Phelan's career. Some important political topics are not fully developed. For one important example, the authors provide a full chapter on the Hetch Hetchy issue, but nowhere do they treat Phelan's principled stand toward the municipal ownership of utilities more generally; his views on that subject emerged early in his career and produced not only his persistent advocacy of municipal ownership of Hetch Hetchy but also important elements in the city charter of 1900 and efforts to establish public ownership of other utilities. For another example, Phelan's extreme hostility to immigration from Asia—especially Japan—is presented largely in terms of his reelection campaign in 1920; those prejudices, too, however, emerged early in his political career, appeared in most political campaigns in which he had any role, and apparently had a significant impact on state and federal legislation.

The book is handsomely designed, with large pages and wide margins. Every page contains a marginal gloss—an anecdote, additional information, or a photograph, usually with a detailed and informative caption. There are no footnotes or endnotes, but there are extensive, chapter-by-chapter references at the end of the book. CHS

California Orange Box Labels: An Illustrated History.

By Gordon T. McClelland and Jay T. Last. (Beverly Hills: Hillcrest Press, Inc., 1985, 136 pp., 417 illus., \$37.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Thomas P. Jacobsen, agrilithologist and author on the subject of western American agricultural advertising practices.

Among the finest books published on the subject of ephemera, *California Orange Box Labels* is a magnificent treatment of a uniquely California art form. Included are over four hundred faithfully reproduced full-color illustrations of the rarest labels known. Such a collection would today cost over \$100,000, as these labels (originally produced by the thousands) currently exist in numbers less than five each. These fascinating artifacts

trace the history of California's dominance in the global agricultural marketplace with stunning imagery.

In an effort to attract fruit buyers, label artists in California many lithograph houses depicted nearly every subject imaginable in their designs. Beginning in the mid-1880s and proliferating through the 1950s, labels document the evolutions of orcharding, transportation, aviation, sports, navigation, architecture, fashion, popular pastimes, entertainment, mythology, technology, birds, flowers, wildlife, geographic landmarks, national patriotism, racial diversity, and more. The authors present their choice of images as a fascinating visual narrative, supported by accompanying text. The labels chronicle California Indian life, the Spanish and Mexican periods, the westward movement, the Gold Rush, and the ever-changing culture of the West. With the development of color advertising in the 1800s, western labels such as these had a traceable impact on promoting the "California Dream."

It is evident the authors are not only highly qualified in the field, but also share a deep passion for this all-but-lost art form. They have expended great energy bringing readers this thoroughly captivating and colorful overview, exploring the full spectrum of label imagery that circulated across America and the world. Also included is a short history of western lithographics—its processes, its scope, the artists themselves, and the ways in which the industry promoted itself. The text is thoughtful, concise, informative, and very readable throughout. Label collectors will find this a most useful book, and general readers will be spellbound by the illustrations. A picture being worth "a thousand words," this volume is worth millions. CHS

Blacks in Chico, 1860–1935: Climbing the Slippery Slope.

By Michele Shover. (Chico, California: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1991, iii, 56 pp., paper.)

Reviewed by Norman Lederer, dean of general and developmental education at Thaddeus Stevens State School of Technology, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

According to Michele Shover, African Americans in nineteenth-century Chico were by and large peripheral to the mainstream social and economic developments in this rapidly growing farming and ranching community. Basing her short narrative on research conducted by Robert Sherrard, Shover describes the development of a relatively minuscule black community that at least economically existed on the sufferance of the larger white population, which well nigh engulfed the racial enclave. The author makes use of notes derived from



This 1887 Butte County grammar school photo is believed to be students at the Salem Street School, Chico. Following an 1874 Supreme Court decision (*Ward v. Flood*) upholding the Fourteenth Amendment, the Chico school board closed its all-black school and transferred black children into the existing public schools. Education is one of many general topics that students, patrons, and scholars will find in the Meriam Library at California State University, Chico. The library serves the twelve-county northeastern California region with archives and special collections of rare books, periodicals, manuscripts, county records, photographs, and maps. *Courtesy CSU, Chico, Meriam Library, Special Collections.*

printed primary and manuscript sources to good effect as she emphasizes black activities and events from the Civil War period to the turn of the century. She pays relatively little note to developments after 1900.

Although a handful of blacks settled in and around Chico in the 1850s, the real beginning of the African American community as an organized entity is usually stated as being in 1860, when a number of strong-willed, enterprising blacks came on the scene, especially Peter Jackson and Peter Powers. These two individuals, one a barber and the other a jack-of-all-trades, became central figures in most of what affected the Chico black community until the 1880s, including the erection of an African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose building actually antedated that of the white Methodist competition. Slowly but surely, as Shover relates, an African American community took form. It centered around churches, but also encompassed a flourishing organizational life, including the Rising Sun Lodge of the Colored Masons, the United Brotherhood, and the Garfield Literary Society.

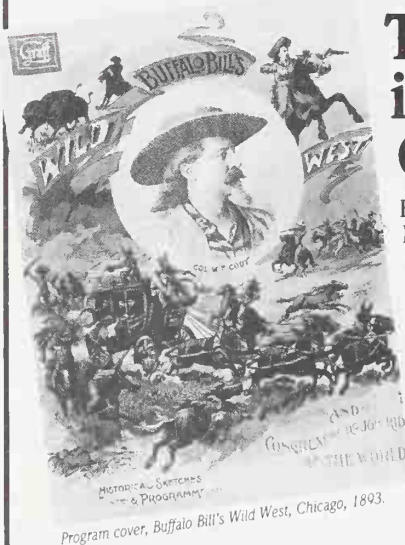
Shover stresses that many of Chico's white residents were either southern in origin or were "Northern men with Southern principles," especially in racial matters. One of these was the highly influential newspaper editor George Crosette, whose views on black/white social mixing, African American voting

rights, and black competition for scarce jobs did credit to no one who believed in equal rights for all. By the 1880s, racial lines hardened in Chico, as they did across the nation. The meager black representation in the job market was further lessened as white competitors appealed to racial solidarity in order to gain employment. The virulent racism towards Asian Americans spilled over into hatred displayed against the black community. Even the Republican Party, "the party of Lincoln," increasingly turned a deaf ear to black entreaties for equality of treatment on the local as well as on the state and national scenes.

The younger generation of Chico's African Americans, who emerged into the public eye in the 1890s, tended to turn away from politics and, increasingly, even emigrated from Chico to areas offering greater promise in the social and economic arenas of endeavor. Thus, the fifty or so African Americans resident in Chico in the 1880s dwindled to about twenty in the mid-1920s. That number proved too small to perpetuate itself, with the result that none of Chico's contemporary African Americans trace descent from the nineteenth-century pioneers who settled in the town.

Shover's work is small in compass and short in length. However, taken for what it is, her disquisition marks the beginning of an introduction to the absorbing saga of minority life in small-town California during the state's formative years. CHS

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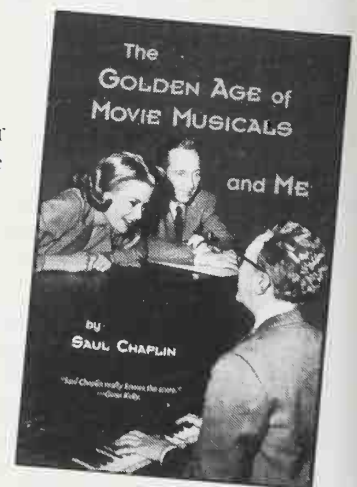
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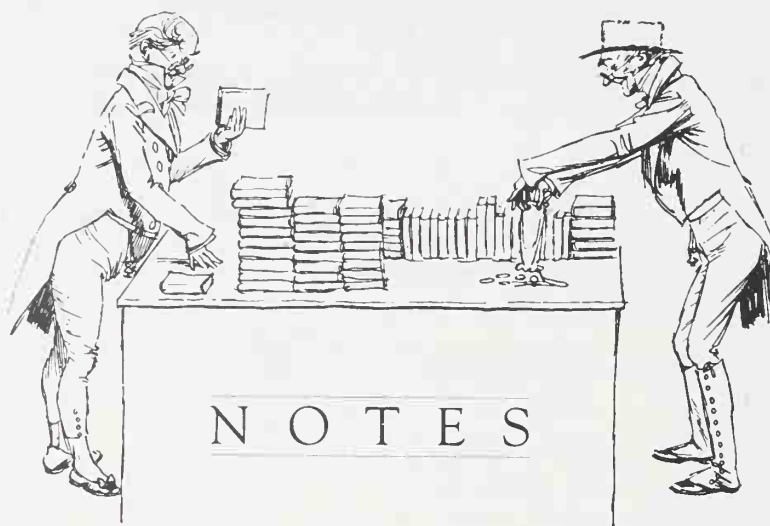
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Rolle, "Two Explorers on the Trail to California," pp. 182-187.

1. Carvalho's book, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*. . . (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856), was reprinted on the centenary of its publication, edited with an introduction by Bertram Wallace Korn (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954). Also useful is Joan Sturhahn, *Carvalho: Artist, Photographer, Adventurer, Patriot* (Merrick, N. Y.: Richwood Publishing Company, 1976). See, as well, Andrew Rolle, *John Charles Frémont: Character as Destiny* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).
2. Max Vorspan and Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1970), 13. Carvalho had already helped to incorporate the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia. See 1845 to 1858 issues of *The Occident*, its Jewish newspaper, cited in Hynda L. Rudd, *Mountain West Pioneer Jewry* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Bookstore, 1980), 33.
3. His partner was A. M. Johnson, probably a gentile. See Vorspan, 13, and Sturhahn, 113. The latter book is valuable in identifying the location of Carvalho's paintings and sketches. Also regarding Carvalho in Los Angeles, see Justin G. Turner, "The First Decade of Los Angeles Jewry: A Pioneer History (1850-1860)," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 54 (December 1965): 132.
4. See Jessie Benton Frémont, "Some Account of the Plates," in *Frémont's Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago: Bedford, Clarke Company, 1887), xv-xvi.

5. Quoted in Rolle, 122.

6. Sturhahn, 133, and Walt Wheelock, "Frémont's Lost Plates," *Westerner's Brand Book* (San Diego Corral, 1971), 48-53, a speculative account. See also Charles MacNamara, "The First Official Photographer," *Scientific Monthly* LXII (1936): 68-74, which makes some claims for Carvalho as the first photographer in the American West. These have not stood the test of time.
7. Sturhahn, 134.
8. Frémont objected to Milligan's unauthorized use of a daily journal, parts of which he leaked to the press. In contrast, excerpts from Carvalho's account appeared in John Bigelow's fulsome campaign biography of Frémont, entitled *Memoir of the Public Life and Services of John C. Frémont* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856). The details of the conflict are in Mark J. Stegmaier and David H. Miller, *James F. Milligan: His Journal of Frémont's Fifth Expedition*. . . (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988), *passim*.
9. See the attractive commemorative publication entitled *Solomon Nuñez Carvalho: Painter, Photographer, and Prophet in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1989).

Chandler, "In the Van," pp. 188-201.

1. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 2: 773-74. For Anthony's view of the suffrage movement, see Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, *History of Woman*

Suffrage, 3 vols. (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1887).

2. The best studies of spiritualism are Howard Kerr, *Mediums and Spirit-Rappers and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature, 1850-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972); R. Laurence Moore, *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Earl W. Fonnell, *The Unhappy Medium: Spiritualism and the Life of Margaret Fox* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964); Emma Hardinge Britten, *Modern American Spiritualism: A Twenty Years' Record of the Communion between the Earth and the World of Spirits* (New York: For the Author, 1870); Frank Podmore, *Mediums of the 19th Century*, 2 vols. (1902, reprinted New Hyde Park: University Books, Inc., 1963); and Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism* (1926; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 2 vols. in 1, 1975).

Women in California are discussed in Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *California Women: A History* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1987); Lothrop, "California Women," in Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., and Lothrop, *A Guide to the History of California* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 111-28; JoAnn Levy's readable, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1990); and the California sections in Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christine F. Dichamp, eds., *So Much to Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

For aspects of spiritualism in California, see Daniel Herman, "Science, Seance and San Francisco: The Spiritualists' Phantom Fandango," *The Californians* 11 (September/October 1993): 18–27, 30–37; Robert J. Chandler, "Eliza Ann Hurd Dewolf: An Early Case for Cross-dressing," *The Californians* 11 (September/October 1993): 28–30; Chandler, "Emma Hardinge: A Spiritual Voice for the Slave and the Union," forthcoming, *The Californians* (1995); and Roger Levenson, *Women in Printing: Northern California, 1857–1890* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1994).

3. As examples of how historians have neglected spiritualism in otherwise able studies, Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), and Elisabeth Griffith's *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), do not even index "Spiritualism," while Kathleen Barry's *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), only discusses Anthony's reaction to spiritualism's founding.

Ann Braude, "News from the Spirit World: A Checklist of American Spiritualist Periodicals, 1847–1900," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 99, Part 2 (1989): 399.

4. Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Woman's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 3, 57.
5. Chandler, "Hardinge"; San Francisco *Alta California*, November 7, 1863.
6. San Jose *Mercury*, January 9, 12, June 8 ("In the Van"), 1865; Robert J. Chandler, "Friends in Time of Need: Republicans and Black Civil Rights in California during the Civil War Era," *Arizona and the West* 24 (Winter 1982): 334.

For Stowe, see San Jose *Mercury*, February 19, March 9, 1865, May 31, 1866; *Banner of Progress*, June 22, August 17, 1867, May 10, 1868.

7. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *Suffrage*, 755.
8. *Union*, February 8, 1866; *Alta*, January 25, February 8, 19, 25, 1866; *Banner of Progress*, January 12, February 23, 1867; Charles Warren Stoddard, *A Troubled Heart* (Notre Dame, IN: The Ave Maria, 1885), 68–74; Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary*

Frontier (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), 202–204, including the reference to the *Bulletin*; Sacramento *Bee*, April 22, 1864; Colusa *Sun*, October 31, 1868. For the dichotomy between what spiritualists believed "free love" to be, and the promiscuity that their opponents charged, see Braude, *Radical Spirits*, 117–41.

9. San Jose *Mercury*, May 31, 1866.
10. Clarke, San Francisco, November 28, 1866, to Laura De Force Gordon, Denver, courtesy of Brad Casoly and Judge Rolleen Kent McIlwrath, who is preparing a full-length study of Gordon; *Banner of Progress*, May 3, 1868.
11. Atkinson, San Francisco, October 7, 1867, to Charles Gordon; Angie M. Eager, San Francisco, November 7, 1868, to Laura Gordon, Casoly-McIlwrath Collection; *Banner of Progress*, April 5, 26, May 10, June 21, October 25, 1868; San Francisco *Spiritual Light*, November 8, 1868–January 1, 1869; and William N. Slocum, "Progress of Spiritualism in California," Oakland *The Carrier Dove* 4 (January 1887): 28; Sacramento *Record-Union*, January 8, 1876.
12. Denver *Gazette*, in *Banner of Progress*, March 23, 1867; *Banner of Progress*, December 14, 21, 28, 1867; Portland *Woman's Tribune*, May 26, 1907; Braude, *Radical Spirits*, 194–95; Annegret Ogden, "'Women Are Too Easily Made Tools of the Men,'" *Bancroftiana* No. 75, June 1980. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, also has a large holding of Gordon's correspondence, mostly after 1870.
13. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *Suffrage*, 751; *Alta*, February 19, 1868.
14. Sacramento *State Capital Reporter*, in New York *Revolution* 1 (April 30, 1868): 268–9.
15. Dotan, Casoly-McIlwrath Collection.
16. *Pioneer*, November 13, 1869, January 8, 1870; see New York *Revolution* 8 (August 1871): 2; Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "THE PIONEER: The First Voice for Women's Suffrage in the West," *The Pacific Historian* 25 (Winter 1981): 15–21; and Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990), 57–62.
17. *Golden Era*, February 27, 1869; "Semper Fidelis" [Trask], Mud Hill, February 20, in San Francisco *Elevator*, March 8, 1868; New York *Revolution* 2 (September 10, 1868): 149; San

Francisco *El Dorado*, February 27, March 20, 1869.

18. John E. Keller, ed., *Anna Morrison Reed, 1849–1921* (Lafayette, California: For the Author, 1979), xxiii–xxiv, 59. She became a suffragist in the twentieth century.
19. *Alta*, July 12, 13, 15, 17, 1869; see Dickinson lecture, "Women's Work and Wages," from New York *Sun*, March 11, in *Union*, April 13, 1865; *Golden Era*, July 17, 1869; *Alta*, September 5–13, 1869; and Giraud Chester, *Embattled Maiden: The Life of Anna Dickinson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1951); San Francisco *Evening Post*, Henry George, editor, August 29, 1872.
20. Stanton, Anthony, Gage, *Suffrage*, 752–56; *Golden Era*, November 28, 1869; January 16, 23, 30, 1870; *Alta*, September 6, October 3, 22, November 3, 10, 1869, January 5, 6, 7, 13, 20, 27 (quote), 28, 29, 30, 1870; see the Laura Gordon papers at the Bancroft Library for correspondence on local societies, and Annegret Ogden, "Marietta L. Stow: 19th Century Candidate for Governor and Vice President," *The Californians* 5 (May/June 1987): 6–7, 67; Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion*, 97–105 [Stow]; Levenson, *Women in Printing*, 150–58.
21. Braude, *Radical Spirits*, 193, 236, notes 3–6; Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *Suffrage*, 755–6, including note.
22. "Petition for Woman's Suffrage, 1870," Appendix to Legislative Journals, 1870, Vol. 2, rep. 13; Vol. 3, rep. 57; *Journal of the Senate*, 1870, 425, 439; *Journal of the Assembly*, 698, 728–29. For the political context, see Martinez *California Express*, January 1, August 8, 1870; *Golden Era*, June 19, 1870; Chandler, "Friends in Time of Need," 334–40; Chandler, "'Anti-Coolie Rabies': The Chinese Issue in California Politics in the 1860s," *The Pacific Historian* 28 (Spring 1984): 35–40.
23. Studies of woman suffrage campaigns between 1870 and 1911 are covered in Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, *Suffrage*, 752; Gayle Gullet, "Feminism, Politics, and Voluntary Groups: Organized Womanhood in California, 1886–1896" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1983); Reda Davis, *California Women: A Guide to Their Politics, 1885–1911* (San Francisco, 1967); Donald G. Cooper, "The California Suffrage Campaign of 1896: Its Origin, Strategies, Defeat," *Southwestern California Quarterly* 71 (Winter 1989):

311–25; and Mary S. Gibson, comp., *A Record of Twenty-five Years of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1900–1925*, 2 vols. (1927). Charles C. Hoag, *San Francisco Blue Book, Season 1908–1909* (San Francisco: Charles C. Hoag, 1909), listed the members of 200 woman's clubs in California. Other studies of the suffragists are in progress.

24. Ellen R. Van Valkenburg v. Albert Brown, 43 Cal. 53 (January 1872).

Also in 1872, Republican assemblymen J.M. Days (Nevada), J.N. Turner (Butte), and C.G.W. French (Sacramento) in *Report of Special Committee in Relation to Granting Women Political Rights*, in *Appendix to the Legislative Journals*, 1872, 3, 5, 6 placed the woman suffrage movement in a historical perspective while considering a petition carrying over five thousand signatures asking for "political equality" for women. They reflected on "the social and political revolutions of the past decade" when Americans questioned "those old notions of sex superiority and class rule," and reasoned, if the black man "can rise by his own exertions to positions of honor and trust," then "woman feels that she can do the same." *Appendix to the Legislative Journals*, 1873–4, Vol. 5, Rep. 7, concerns another suffrage petition.

25. Francis A. Walker, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, June 1, 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 722.
26. *Golden Era*, January 2, 1870; see September 12, 19, October 3, December 19, 1869.

For the conservative nature of one local suffrage club, see Kathleen Bowes, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Nevada County, California: 1869–1911," *Nevada County Historical Society Bulletin* 46 (April 1992): 10–13. She observed, "The members of the Association [formed on October 21, 1869] were the middle to upper class, educated women of the county. They were the 'respectable' women" (11). In 1869, "L" wrote to the *Nevada Gazette* that "those who engage in this cause are mothers of families rather than childless wives" (13). Such mothers would not identify with alleged "free love" spiritualists.

Judith Papachristou, in "Woman's Suffrage Movement: New Research and New Perspectives," *OAH Newsletter* (August 1986), 6–8, argued that new regional studies

challenged older works that emphasized the conservative and political nature of the movement.

27. Kenneth Lamott, *Who Killed Mr. Crittenden? The Laura D. Fair Case* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963), especially pages 142, 182–84, 190–92, 282–88. Lamott asserted that Pitts-Stevens was "likely the most capable individual of either sex in the [court]room" (182). *Golden Era*, April 30, 1871; see November 6, 1870, April 9, 16, June 11, 25, 1871. The testimony and love letters are in Andrew J. Marsh and Samuel Osbourne, *Official Report of the Trial of Laura D. Fair for the Murder of Alex. P. Crittenden* (San Francisco: The San Francisco Co-Operative Printing Co., 1871). A fictionalized account of the Fair trial that also emphasized the role of Emily Pitts-Stevens is Hilton Obenzinger's *Cannibal Eliot and the Lost Histories of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993), 142–79.

28. Griffith, *In Her Own Right*, 125–60; *Golden Era*, January 16, May 15, 21, July 16, August 6, 1871; *Call*, May 20, July 14, 1871; *Alta*, May 17–20, 1871; Beverly Beeton and G. Thomas Edwards, "Susan B. Anthony's Woman Suffrage Crusade in the American West," *Journal of the West* 21 (April 1982): 7–8; and Edwards, *Sowing Good Seeds: The Northwest Suffrage Campaigns of Susan B. Anthony* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1990).

See Jeanne Boydston, Mary Kelley, and Anne Margolis, *The Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and the Women's Sphere* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Barry, *Anthony*, 225–48; Johanna Johnston, *Mrs. Satan: The Incredible Saga of Victoria G. Woodhull* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967); Madeleine B. Stern, ed., *The Victoria Woodhull Reader* (Weston, MA: M & S Press, 1974); and Braude, *Radical Spirits*, 170–73.

29. *Chronicle*, June 2, 1872, quoted in Bennion, "PIONEER," 19, and *Equal to the Occasion*, 59; Levenson, *Women in Printing*, 109, see 89–113, 131, 143–44.

Downey, "This Novel Employment of Untrained Hands," pp. 202–215.

1. Philip King Brown, "A Sociologic Experi-

ment in the Treatment of Tuberculous Working Women," *Journal of Sociologic Medicine* (August 1915): 209.

2. Philip King Brown, "The Opening of a Sanatorium for Early Cases of Tuberculosis in Wage-Earning Women." Privately published pamphlet, 1911, 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
3. *Ibid.*, 10.
4. Helen Hillyer Brown, "History of Arequipa Pottery," manuscript, 1914, Bancroft Library.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Arequipa Pottery brochure, ca. 1917, Bancroft Library.
10. Arequipa Pottery brochure, ca. 1915, Bancroft Library.
11. Poem, typed on Government of the Philippines stationery, 1915, Bancroft Library.
12. Annual Report for Arequipa, 1916, 15, Bancroft Library.
13. Arequipa Tile brochure, ca. 1918, Bancroft Library.
14. Albert Solon to Philip King Brown, October 29, 1930, Bancroft Library.

Dmohowski, "From a Common Ground," pp. 216–239.

1. "Milhous family historian"—Dr. Harry M. McPherson, interview, June 18, 1990. Max McPherson was interviewed for this article June 18 and 19, 1990, and again on August 17, 1993, at his home in Napa, California.
2. Jessamyn West, "Four Years - for What?" Addresses by Richard Nixon and Jessamyn West, *Whittier College Bulletin* 47 (December 1954): 15.
3. McPherson interview, June 18, 1990.
4. Edwin P. Hoyt, *The Nixons: An American Family* (New York: Random House, 1972), 175.
5. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon: The Education of a Politician, 1913–1962* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 19.
6. Jessamyn West, "On Words and Men," *Whittier College Bulletin* 53 (May 1960): 2–3.
7. Jessamyn West, *To See the Dream* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956, 1957), 130.
8. Hoyt, *The Nixons*, 178.

9. Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), 13.
10. West, *Dream*, 131.
11. Richard C. Gardner, "Fighting Quaker: The Story of Richard Nixon" (Unpublished manuscript, Whittier College Library, 1953), 4, 6, 7.
12. Jessamyn West, *Hide and Seek: A Continuing Journey* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), 239.
13. Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), 38.
14. Jessamyn West, *Double Discovery: A Journey* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 125.
15. Roger Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon: The Rise of an American Politician* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), 45.
16. West, "Four Years," 17.
17. West, *Hide*, 239-40.
18. Ambrose, *Nixon*, 31.
19. *Ibid.*
20. West, *Hide*, 98.
21. R. Nixon, *Memoirs*, 12-13.
22. Bela Kornitzer, *The Real Nixon: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Rand McNally, 1960), 38.
23. Hannah M. Nixon, "Richard Nixon: A Mother's Story, as Told to Flora Rheta Schreiber," *Good Housekeeping* 150 (June 1960): 212.
24. Jonathan Aitken, *Nixon: A Life* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), 13.
25. West, *Hide*, 176.
26. *Ibid.*, 45.
27. *Ibid.*, 73.
28. *Ibid.*, 239.
29. *Ibid.*, 22.
30. Alfred S. Shivers, *Jessamyn West, Revised Edition* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), 8.
31. West, *Double*, 125.
32. West, "Four Years," 17.
33. West, *Hide*, 90.
34. *Ibid.*, 184.
35. Ambrose, *Nixon*, 41.
36. Aitken, *Nixon*, 26.
37. H. Nixon, "Mother's Story," 212.
38. Ambrose, *Nixon*, 44.
39. Aitken, *Nixon*, 23.
40. Max McPherson claims that Walter Milhous "almost certainly" transmitted the disease to Jessamyn, and possibly to Harold Nixon. Uncle Walter repeatedly coughed on Jessamyn while holding her when she was a baby.
41. Ambrose, *Nixon*, 50.
42. *Ibid.*, 56.
43. Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon*, 95.
44. Aitken, *Nixon*, 50.
45. Morris, *Richard Milhous Nixon*, 99.
46. Ambrose, *Nixon*, 56.
47. H. Nixon, "Mother's Story," 212.
48. Aitken, *Nixon*, 54.
49. Max McPherson had never been a very dedicated student. Jessamyn had always excelled scholastically, and pushed him in the right direction at Berkeley. He completed his undergraduate work in 1930. Max received his doctorate in education in 1938, having earned a master's degree in 1932.
50. West, *Double*, 25.
51. *Ibid.*, 198.
52. "Jessamyn West: The Art of Fiction LXVII," *Paris Review* 18 (Fall 1977): 151.
53. Jessamyn West, *The Woman Said Yes: Encounters with Life and Death* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 32.
54. Marshall Berges, "Jessamyn West and Harry McPherson," *Los Angeles Times Home Magazine* (October 10, 1976), 39.
55. "Jessamyn West," *Paris Review*, 151.
56. West, *Double*, 138.
57. Berges, "Jessamyn West," 39.
58. West, *Woman*, 98.
59. *Ibid.*, 59. Samantha was Jessamyn West's first pet. Grace West disliked cats, but tolerated this animal. Jessamyn West from then on always owned a cat.
60. *Ibid.*, 40. West's ten-pound shot bag acted as a substitute pneumothorax treatment—the only commonly implemented medical procedure for tuberculosis in the 1930s. In this procedure, a lung was collapsed by the injection of oxygen into the pleural cavity. The collapsed lung was then at rest, which allowed the lesions to heal. Since both of West's lungs were infected, this treatment could not be administered.
61. Jessamyn also recorded story lines and plot ideas in her journals. Max McPherson disposed of a number of them after her death, as she had requested. The remaining journals are part of the Jessamyn West Collection at the Whittier College Library.
62. West, *Dream*, 253.
63. Ann Farmer, *Jessamyn West*, Boise State University Western Writers Series, #53 (Boise, Idaho: Boise State University, 1982), 9.
64. Berges, "Jessamyn West," 39.
65. West, *Dream*, 132-33.
66. Farmer, *Jessamyn West*, 22.
67. Shivers, *Jessamyn West*, 36.
68. West, *Double*, 122.
69. *Ibid.*, 123.
70. Richard M. Nixon Vice Presidential Papers (VPP); Correspondence Files. National Archives and Records Administration, Laguna Niguel, California. Jessamyn West letter to Richard Nixon, not dated.
71. VPP, Richard Nixon letter to Jessamyn West, January 29, 1957.
72. VPP, Richard Nixon letter to William H. Taft III, February 14, 1957.
73. VPP, Arthur Emmons letter to Richard Nixon, February 19, 1957.
74. VPP, Jessamyn West letter to Richard Nixon, April 8, 1957.
75. VPP, Richard Nixon letter to Jessamyn West, April 15, 1957.
76. West, *Double*, 123.
77. McPherson interview, June 18, 1990.
78. West, *Double*, 135.
79. Jessamyn West, "The Real Pat Nixon," *Good Housekeeping* 172 (February 1971): 68.
80. *Ibid.*, 68, 70.
81. West, *Double*, 141.
82. Charles W. Cooper, *Whittier: Independent College in California* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1967), 136.
83. *The Acropolis* (Whittier, CA: Associated Student Body of Whittier College, 1934), 36.
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85. Richard M. Nixon, "The Independent College," *Whittier College Bulletin* 53 (May 1960): 13.
86. West, "Four Years," 15.
87. Henry Allen, "Ironies in Reagan's Film Gift to Gorbachev," *Los Angeles Times*, pt. VI (June 4, 1988), 2.
88. Axel Madsen, *William Wyler: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973), 325-26.
89. *Jeopardy* host Alex Trebek provided verification of the clue, July 12, 1993.
90. VPP: Jessamyn West's letter to Richard Nixon was dated June 28, 1954; Nixon responded May 19, 1955.

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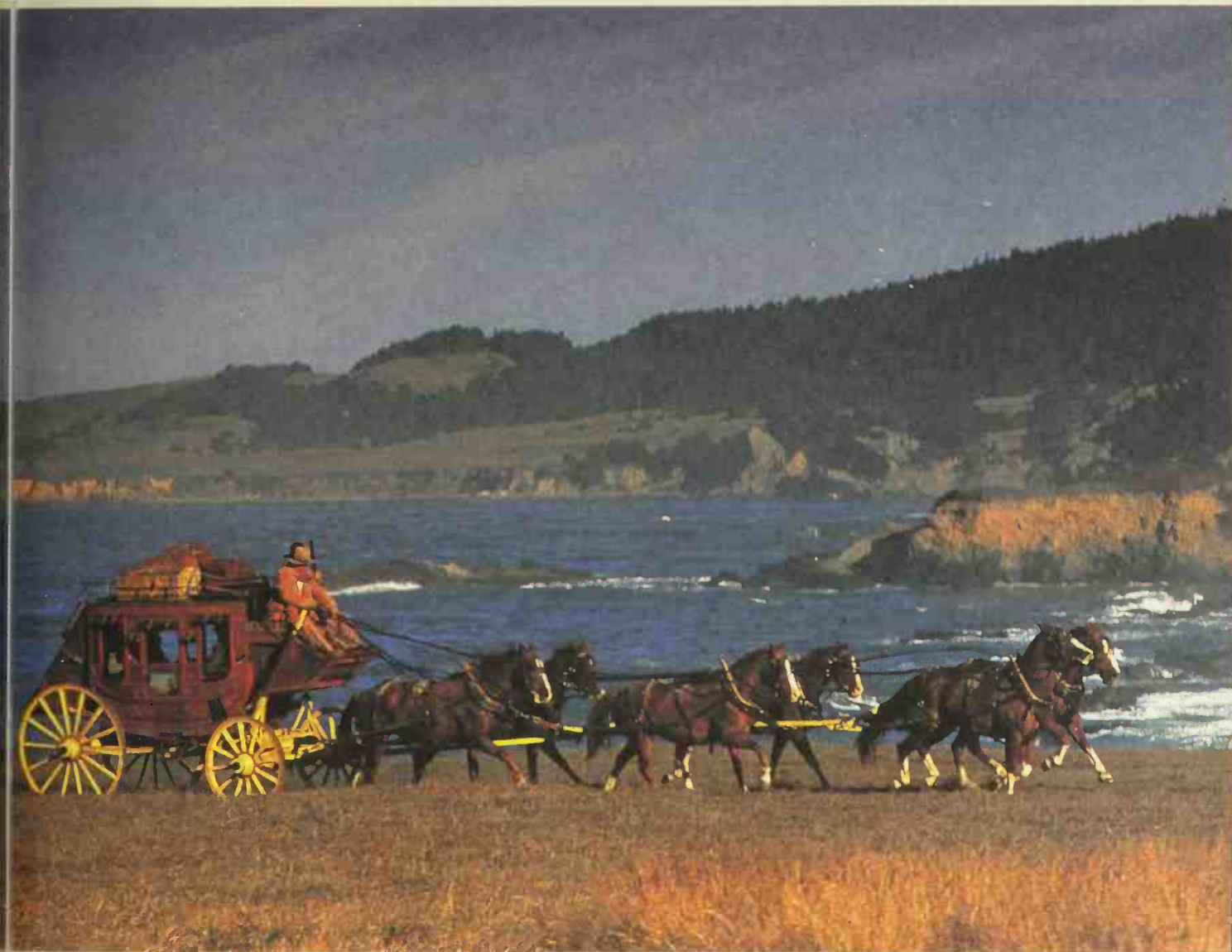
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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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Milestones in California History— The “Last Spike” Was Only the Beginning: The Pacific Railroad 125 Years Later.

The weather did not portend that January 8, 1863, would be a memorable day. It had been cold and rainy overnight, leaving the area around Sacramento's Front and “K” streets inches deep in clammy mud. A wagonload of dry earth was imported to the site, to be excavated with great ceremony to mark the groundbreaking of the Central Pacific Railroad. With the nation preoccupied by civil war and with gigantic physical and economic obstacles to be overcome, many doubted a railroad could be built from Sacramento over the Sierra. Even the most confident supporters believed it would take a decade or more. But Leland Stanford, state governor and Central Pacific president, conveyed great optimism as he presided over the drizzly noon-time ceremonies: “We may now look forward with confidence to the day, not far distant, when the Pacific Coast will be bound to the Atlantic Coast by iron bonds.”

A combination of luck, skill, and energetic labor allowed events to match Stanford's positive rhetoric. Just six and a half years later, on another day that threatened rain, the great national venture was completed north of the Great Salt Lake at Promontory, Utah Territory. After Appomattox, the attention of the nation had been drawn to the West and the progress of the Pacific Railroad (it would not be commonly called the Transcontinental Railroad until the early 1870s). The ceremony to open the rail line was planned for Saturday, May 8, 1869—a slow news day—but delays on the Union Pacific side postponed the first coast-to-coast electronic media event until the following Monday. With customary disregard for convention, San Francisco began its celebration on schedule, and achieved a three-day triumph of civic inebriation that would not be exceeded in intensity or destructive power until the famous earthquake thirty-seven years later.

The culmination of the whole affair on the breezy Utah uplands was the driving of the Gold Spike, more properly known as the “Last Spike.” This simple symbol became an icon for the opening of the trans-Mississippi West, just as the building of the railroad itself serves as a metaphor for the imposition of technology on an unspoiled landscape. The saga of the construction of the Pacific Railroad has become a fundamental part of our national mythology. The stories of Chinese tunnelers grimly clawing through the Sierra Nevada, former Union and Confederate soldiers laying track across the plains, and the machinations of the financiers were celebrated in the literature of the time and remain well-known.

What is not as well understood is that the Last Spike was only the beginning, and it is significant not because it marked the culmination of a great construction project, but because it symbolizes the birth of the railroad age in California. It is arguable that no other social force—with the possible exception of the availability of water—has had a greater effect on the emergence of modern California. The history of settlement, agriculture, transportation, industry, the rise of corporate power, labor, immigration issues, water, land use, taxation, govern-



The last-spike monument erected near Promontory Point, Utah, to mark the spot at which the Central and Union Pacific railroads were dramatically joined in May of 1869 to create the nation's first transcontinental rail line. Courtesy California State Railroad Museum, Old Sacramento.

mental regulation, the state constitution, urbanization, suburban development, the Workingman's, Granger, Populist, and Progressive political movements, the public works ethic, and even the later automobile culture and highway-motor complex, all followed from the railroad's influences.

In the period between 1865 and 1910, California became a railroad-oriented society. The railroad was dominant in some spheres and influential everywhere. Its ubiquity made the industry the convenient source of every evil. Detractors adroitly manipulated public perception of the railroads' real shortcomings and imagined crimes, making them the darkest examples of unfettered capitalist power. Little wonder that the compilers of textbooks would choose to remember the triumph of technology represented by the building of the railroads, rather than the more complicated and messy consequences of their operations.

The time is right to rehabilitate the study of railroads during the last 125 years. It is good to commemorate the accomplishments of the laborers who built the Central and Union Pacific railroads. But we must keep in mind that their efforts only set the stage for the great social and technological drama that followed, and momentous events that will affect us long into the future.

WALTER P. GRAY III, Director
California State Railroad Museum,
Old Sacramento

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A family of Mexican Americans living in California's Salinas Valley during the early 1990s, a photograph from *Voices from the Fields: Children of Migrant Farmworkers Tell Their Stories, Interviews and Photographs* by S. Beth Atkin (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993). Photographer and journalist S. Beth Atkin's acclaimed book uses her photographs and first-person interviews, as well as farmworker-authored poems in English and Spanish, to allow the children of migrant farmworkers to tell their own stories of the harsh reality of their lives—their long hours of exhausting fieldwork, the uprootedness of life on the move, the language barriers and discrimination that trouble them in the schools, and the impact of youth gangs on their lives—and also their hopes for a better future, their strong family values and pride in Hispanic culture, and their yearning to be accepted as Californians. In their aspirations, as well as in their frustrations, today's recently arrived Mexican Americans share a long tradition with the many other immigrant groups who have always made California a multicultural society. Professor Limerick's article, which follows, examines the contradictions of acceptance and rejection of immigrant groups in California history. *Courtesy S. Beth Atkin.*

Will the Real Californian Please Stand Up?

by Patricia Nelson Limerick

It would be hard to tell from the title of this piece whether you are about to read an historical essay or to play an after-dinner parlor game.* This actually *is* an essay, not a game, but I have to admit to a certain amount of curiosity: how would readers respond if I did ask how many of you *are* real Californians? What, in heaven's name, is a real Californian?

I take the question, of course, from the old game show, "To Tell the Truth." In that show, a panel of four people—or, as they were usually called, personalities—would listen to the brief biography of an interesting and unusual person, and then they would try to decide which of three contestants was really that person. They would make their guesses, and then the *real* individual would be asked to stand up. There would be a certain amount of bobbing and chair-adjusting, and then the real person would stand up and the two frauds would remain seated.

They called the show "To Tell the Truth," and yet, as you've just noticed, two out of three people were lying. But at least the truth, and a shared agreement on standards for judging truth, did take hold at the end of the show, and when the real candidate stood up, the others remained seated and admitted that they were not real.

And that is where my question in this paper follows a different format. There is no agreement for deciding who is a real Californian in the present, or who has been one in the past, and this fact has been a source of enormous contention in California's past and present. But here historians have, I think, an advantage: they live with a mandate for inclusiveness that few others feel. The historian of California has to pay attention to *all* the individuals who lived in this state and influenced its events; the historian cannot impose narrow definitions of real Californianness without fracturing and simplifying a complex story; and that mandate for inclusiveness requires a generosity of spirit and attention that, I believe, could be an important and happy influence in contemporary public life, if we could get non-historians to pay attention to us.

Even under more narrow definitions of real Californianness, I have some claims to being a real Californian, though these are not claims that I am eager to advertise in Colorado today. My birthplace meets one common requirement: I was born and raised in Banning, in the San Geronio Pass. With the exception of a couple of trips to my parents' home territory in Utah, and to the Grand Canyon, I never left the state for my first twenty-one years. When I did leave, I made a big and awful leap, and went to graduate school in New Haven, Connecticut, driving to the East Coast in a state of complete terror. I left early on a Sunday morning, and—this is a true story—when I crossed the border and entered Arizona, I tried to find a radio station to listen to. The one I found was a religious station, and the radio minister was saying, just as I tuned in, "We have a letter

*Editor's Note: On September 16, 1994, the distinguished western historian Patricia Nelson Limerick addressed the joint annual conference of the California Historical Society and the California Council for the Promotion of History. This article is adapted from Dr. Limerick's presentation.

here from a young lady in New Haven, Connecticut, who is having some tough times. She wants to know if the Lord is in New Haven, and yes, young lady, the Lord is *even* in New Haven, Connecticut."

Well, maybe so. But leaving California was still a very big problem, and disorientation was too mild a term for this problem. While I was an undergraduate at the University of California at Santa Cruz in the late 1960s, to take one example, I had been much admired for the ease and frequency with which I wept. No one had said, "Oh why don't you grow up and stop being such a crybaby?" On the contrary, the response had been much closer to "How I admire the freedom and honesty of your emotions; how wonderful to be so in touch with your feelings." This California doctrine in support of the free and beneficial flow of tears had not, however, made many inroads at Yale. When I lived up to my role as a faucet in New Haven, people responded with something closer to horror and fear, rather than admiration and envy.

I will not prolong the misery of these stories of regional misunderstanding much longer, but I do have to cap them with the story of the Champagne Social. Early in the school year, we got invitations for a Graduate Student Champagne Social. I was, at first, mystified by this. At Santa Cruz, from 1968 to 1972, while we had plenty of social events, none of them had been called "Champagne Socials." But we did have plenty of costume parties and masquerades. Thus, I thought, I had broken the code. This was not a *real* Champagne Social; no one would imagine doing such a thing *seriously* in 1972. On the contrary, this was a clever and good-humored joke. We were to come as we would have if we had received such an invitation in Santa Cruz; we were to come *as if* we were going to a Champagne Social.

Now I was on familiar turf. I went to Goodwill and got elbow length gloves and a pillbox hat and a curious dress with rows of purple taffeta. A friend (I think it was a friend) lent me the remains of an animal—something that had once been a mink, or a fox, or a weasel—to wear around my shoulders. I put my hair in a bun, and I put on heavy rouge and lipstick. Now I was ready for the Champagne Social.

When I entered the Champagne Social, I saw fifty or sixty Yale graduate students who were wearing campus casuals—sweaters and matching slacks or skirts. I was the only one with a pillbox hat, the only



California has long been identified in the American mind with eccentricity. One of the most famous of California's unusual people was the evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson, who from her headquarters in Los Angeles after 1918 founded the Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Using her lavish, Hollywood-inspired revival productions and radio broadcasts, McPherson invented and perfected the art of media evangelism, but at the same time, she scandalized the nation with her enigmatic sexual escapades. *Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

one with elbow length gloves, and this list, of course, goes on. For the brief time that I endured at this party, I learned an interesting pattern of human behavior: in situations like this, human beings very badly want to stare, but they do not want you to catch them staring—because of the obvious fear that if they inadvertently make eye contact with you, you might go over and *talk* to them.

There are quite a number of stories like this, but as I said, I will spare you those and get to my point. In a number of ways in 1972, I struck the members of the Yale faculty as a very peculiar person. There were, I learned later, quite a number of concerned remarks made about me.

So what saved me from dismissal? How was I able to do everything wrong and still end up with a Yale degree? Yale gave me an unusual measure of tolerance because I had the extreme good luck to be born and raised in California. "Well, she is certainly odd," became the standard refrain, "but then again, you know she is from California."

Even in the midst of things, I wasn't entirely sure if this was a fair advantage, wasn't sure if my eccentricity correlated in any particular way to my point of origin. It does seem likely that if we were to shift to another parlor game, and we were to compile a list of the most peculiar Americans of, say, the last one hundred and fifty years, a remarkable percentage of them would prove to have some tie with California, from William Walker to Richard Nixon, from Aimee Semple McPherson to Jane Fonda, from John Sutter to Walt Disney. (There's a comparative study waiting to happen—Sutter, Disney, and comparative empire-building.)

I do not know if California breeds peculiarity, but I *do* know that a widespread association of California with eccentricity worked wonderfully to my advantage twenty years ago. Being perceived as a real Californian measurably improved the quality of my life—indeed, made my career possible.

And that, of course, makes my present situation in these matters all the more awkward. Wherever you go today in the interior West, you hear hostile remarks about an invasion of Californians. The *Denver Post* reports regularly on the number of Californians applying for Colorado drivers' licenses, and the tone of these reports is not one of cheer. "Californians," the articles always begin, "continue to flee their state in large numbers," and the word "flee," which invariably appears in the first paragraph, brings to mind wonderfully vivid images, and a certain set of historical precedents. You recall Emma Lazarus's words from the Statue of Liberty, words that do not, as far as I know, appear in any place where a major highway, originating in California, crosses the Colorado state border:

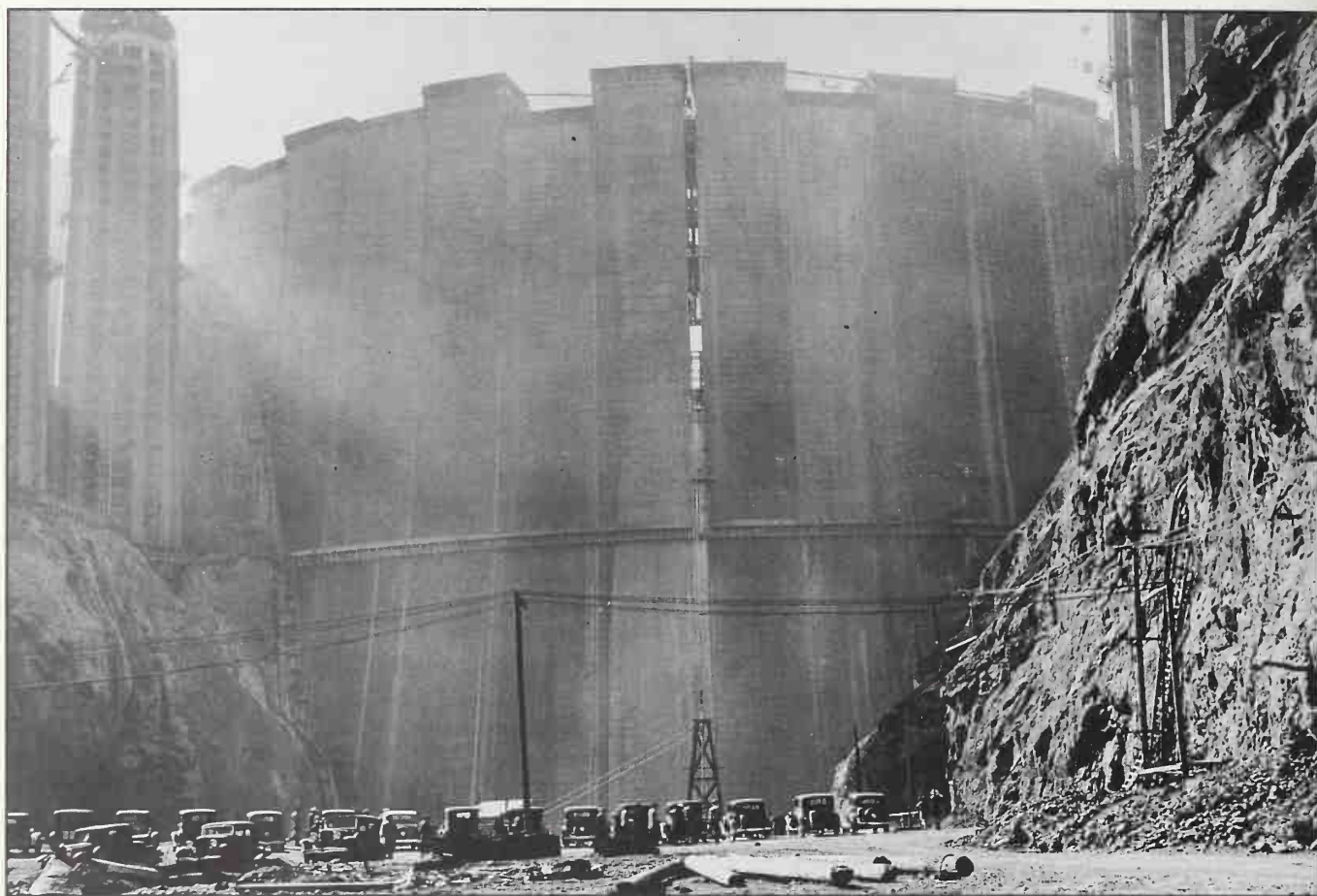
Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me.

With a little rewriting—essentially, changing "Give me your tired, your poor," to "Give me your tired, your tasteless, your *rich*"—Miss Lazarus's words could appear on the letterhead of any number of Colorado homebuilder and land development companies. Heaven knows, the shore of California is "teeming," and "tempest-tossed" could be easily changed, with an economy of syllables, to "earthquake-tossed." "Wretched refuse," of course, has never been the most flattering of characterizations, but it does give Californians some advance warning of the opinion in which they are held by quite a number of Coloradans.

And so there I am, now on the faculty of the University of Colorado in Boulder, trying to draw attention away from my unfortunate pedigree, a pedigree getting more and more unfortunate every day: born and raised in Banning, a town sadly positioned in the San Geronimo Pass between Sodom and Gomorrah, or between Los Angeles and Palm Springs. When people ask, "Are you from the West originally?" I am sometimes at a loss, because I know many of them are ready to respond, "You are not from the West; you are from *California*." Maybe this would be the more effective answer: "I am, in fact, from the West, but I am from the Illegitimate West, the Fallen and Degraded West. Still, it was not my fault; I was only a baby when it happened, and no one consulted me."

My western pedigree gets a lot better in the preceding generation; my father is from Brigham City, Utah, and my mother from Salt Lake. Sometimes, particularly when speaking in Ogden, Logan, or Provo, and I must say, especially last May when giving the keynote speech at the Mormon History Association, I have clutched at this lineage, and tried to pull it, like a veil, over my Californianness.

In the states of the Colorado River Basin, California has for a long time held the role of the rapacious parasite draining the resources of the interior. This hostility has been intense, and it seems, if anything, to be getting more intense. Three or four years ago, I served as a summing-up commentator at a big water conference in Arizona, and in between ses-



Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam), under construction on the Colorado River along the Nevada/Arizona border, looking up at the back of the dam from the present-day bottom of Lake Mead, ca. 1934. No subject better reflects California's imperialistic draining of resources from the interior West—and the resulting tension with other regions—than competition for dividing the waters of the Colorado River. When it was built in the early 1930s, Boulder Dam was to generate hydroelectricity for California, as well as to store water and regulate the Colorado's flow so that the state could more efficiently divert the lion's share of the river downstream for irrigation and an urban supply for the Los Angeles area. Decades of political wrangling and litigation with other states ensued, leaving many issues unresolved even a half-century later. *California Historical Society/Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

sions I composed this unfortunate limerick, which, I regret to tell you, effectively summarizes the feelings of many residents of the interior West:

When California falls into the sea,
Its neighbors will shout out with glee,
"That state was our bane,
"Causing trouble and pain,
"And now that it's gone, we are free."

My own feeling is a bit different from this: if California left the scene, then Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado would lose one of their favorite scapegoats, and have to face up to how much of their "trouble

and pain," how much of the problems of growth and smog and the over-allocation of water, is of their own creation, or at least inflicted on them with their full cooperation and complicity. If California falls into the sea, the glee will be pretty shortlived, as residents of the interior West discover how few of their problems really can be blamed on the Golden State.

So it is hard to be a real Californian living in the Rockies these days, and that is no doubt why I have taken some comfort in deciding that maybe I no longer hold that status; maybe my license is expired. I haven't lived in California for twenty-two years, and surely the decision to live in a state in adulthood

should carry more weight in these matters than the accident of birth. But then, when I remember how passing myself off as a real Californian got me through graduate school, my rejection of a Californian identity seems distinctly ungrateful. And then there is this more important fact: when residents of the interior West cringe and shudder over California, they are often cringing and shuddering over the challenges California faces in ethnic diversity. When residents of the interior try to edit California out of the West, they are, I think, trying to imagine

a West without ethnic friction, without urban poverty, without smog, without water over-allocation. But Denver, for instance, has ethnic friction, has urban poverty, and certainly has smog—and would have those with or without the inclusion of California in the boundaries of the West. In truth, especially in terms of water use, Denver is perceived by—and resented by—the Western Slope of Colorado in terms very reminiscent of the way in which the state of California is perceived by—and resented by—interior westerners. It is not simply that the real Rocky



Statue of Franciscan Father Junípero Serra and a California Indian, garden of the restored Mission San Juan Capistrano, 1929. The Spanish missions of California, particularly as they were depicted in their romanticized early-twentieth-century restorations, reflect the condescension, if not open hostility, with which Europeans and Euro-Americans treated the state's native peoples and their cultures during the process of conquest. The still-ongoing contest over who should be considered the "legitimate" Californians was thus enjoined at the very inception of modern California. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

Mountain West is, like California, very urbanized; it is also that the real California has enormous rural areas, and extensive public lands, and thus struggles with many of the same issues that now preoccupy the interior West.

The story of my muddled personal identity as a Californian has considerable relevance here because it is a mini-version of a larger regional puzzle, a puzzle that I think is one of the most significant, historically created challenges we face today. The American West is a region that came into being through a process of invasion and conquest. There were indigenous people living here, and then, in several cycles of conquest, Europeans and Euro-Americans came into the region, and struggled with each other, and struggled with the natives. In a society that rested on a foundation of invasion and conquest, the matter of legitimacy was up for grabs, and it remained up for grabs as a large sector of the population continued to be migrants from other regions and nations.

Who, under these circumstances of constant population change, could qualify as a *real* westerner, born to westernness, or grown into westernness, entitled to claim the right to make decisions about western resources, and to profit from those resources? Indian people have an obvious claim based on duration, as well as treaty rights. But even the specific tribes who controlled the land when the Europeans arrived had driven off or absorbed earlier peoples. And the rest of us are all comparatively late arrivals or the descendants of late arrivals, and we are having a difficult time dealing with this puzzling legacy of history. We often try to use chronology as our solution, trying to draw a line in time, before which migrants into the West were legitimate and thoroughly deserving of the right to make use of western resources, and after which migrants into the West are illegitimate and undeserving, aliens and intruders. This, of course, is the well-known "close the door right after me" script, usually performed by people who do not seem to be aware of how extremely arbitrary and self-interested they are being in their attempts to set this deadline. And there is no avoiding the fact that, throughout the western past, many of these efforts to close the door have been motivated by race and racial prejudice. Anyone in the late twentieth century who wants to engage in this exercise of distin-

guishing legitimate westerners from illegitimate westerners had better be prepared to deal frankly and directly with this heritage of racism, and of thin and brittle self-interest masquerading as high-minded principle.

These days, the strong sentiment for closing the door comes, in part, from an understandable source, and that is the fact that ethnic friction gives few signs of diminishing in our time. I myself believe that the record of history shows a much more persistent record of prejudice and discrimination against people of color, and yet, today, many white people in this state also feel aggrieved and embattled.

If the mandate of the California historian is inclusiveness of inquiry and understanding, then we are also under an obligation to inquire into, and try to understand, that resentment. A couple of years ago, a white teacher in Oakland told me one story that helped me get a better understanding of these matters, especially of these moments in which our present constructions of ethnicity and identity seem to deny the humanity and individuality of that group wearing the label "white." This is the story the teacher told me: she was attending a panel discussion where the phrase "people of color," or "person of color," was used repeatedly. Thus, when an African American panelist wanted to refer to a white person, the phrase "person of color" was still hanging in the air, leading the speaker to refer to the white individual as a "non-person of color." This newly coined phrase did not make the white people in the room feel particularly cheerful. I suppose the other option would have been to refer to whites as "colorless people," but that seems even more hurtful.

So that is also part of my mission here: to reassert the obvious: to say that white people, in California history, have actually been quite colorful people, and certainly not non-people, and that they have been very diverse and varied in their cultures, opinions, judgments, and behaviors, and often very much at odds with each other and *not* maintaining a solid wall of hostility toward others.

On the matter of intergroup hostility in western history, my thoughts have developed an unfortunate habit of returning to one of the rides at Disneyland in Anaheim: the ride in which multicolored dolls danced, bobbed, and sang, in penetrating tones, "It's a Small, Small World." I have not taken that cheerful ride in years, but it is impossible not to

"Horse Auction at Sonora," drawing by Frank Marryat, from Marryat's *Mountains and Molehills* (1855). Like many other chroniclers of early California, the English gold-rush-era traveler and artist Frank Marryat captured the ethnic and cultural diversity that lay at the root of the state's pioneer society. The drawing depicts a representative cross-section of the gold-rush population: Caucasian and African settlers from the eastern United States, as well as immigrants from Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.



remember it, and impossible not to resent it. When one thinks of that ride, one feels overdosed on sweetness, in deep need of a dill pickle or a spoonful of vinegar. The image of human life without conflict or friction, with everyone chirping away at the same squeaky song, drives one to imagine a more realistic counter-ride. In this ride, the dolls would dance, bob, and take an occasional swipe at one another. "It's a Small, Small World," the dolls would sing, "But It's a Mean One."

For quite a long time, my understanding of the American West tilted toward the spirit of Disney's ride, and away from the spirit of the counter-ride I propose here. In the preface to *The Legacy of Conquest* (1987), I admitted that I was closer to Eleanor Roosevelt than to Angela Davis in my point of view. In the last lines of *The Legacy of Conquest*, I came as close to singing "It's a Small, Small World" as a historian can and still retain a shred of dignity:

Indians, Hispanics, Asians, blacks, Anglos, businesspeople, workers, politicians, bureaucrats, natives, and newcomers, we share the same region and its history, but we wait to be introduced. The serious exploration of the process that made us neighbors provides that introduction.

One might well imagine that the person who wrote those lines is a person who observes National Brotherhood Week as her major annual holiday. And yet, against all probability, some imaginative readers have persuaded themselves that they find in *Legacy* a dark and grim version of the West, a story centered on misery and oppression. In fact, the goodhearted, earnest faith recorded in that book pushes past the edges of probability, all the way to the edge of the proposition that regional identity could give westerners a bridge across the canyons of ethnic and gender inequality and hostility. In its furthest reaches of hopefulness, *The Legacy of Conquest* walked along the edge of this remarkable and mad proposition: if people from backgrounds of privilege took seriously the history of people from backgrounds of scarcity, then the privileged people would redistribute their wealth, pay equitable wages, and forswear economic advantage.

There have been plenty of good reasons for this vision to unravel in the last few years: the bitterness of recent fights over western resource use; the 1992 uprising by numerous ethnic groups in south central Los Angeles; the dramatic gap between the lives led by privileged westerners and the lives led by poor westerners; and, perhaps most immediately,



Drawing of a Mexican immigrant musician, by Frank Marryat, from Marryat's *Mountains and Molehills* (1855). In gold-rush California, ethnic diversity gave birth to a dynamic society and culture, but also brought heightened ethnic competitiveness and tension, including stereotyping. Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.

California's recently passed so-called Save Our State initiative, which would deny public services, including health care and education, to illegal immigrants, even their children. In truth, one of my reasons for wanting to study California is to learn how much I should let this vision unravel, how much I should recant for my earlier excesses of cheer and optimism.

California history is a particularly useful place to raise this question. This could, I guess, be taken as a kind of good news for contemporary Californians: however much scorn is being directed at you these days by residents of the interior West, it adds up to nothing in comparison to the scorn that residents of

the state of California have, over a century and a half, heaped upon each other. When it comes to scorning and deprecating each other, people in California have been self-sufficient, self-reliant, and independent; they have not needed to import contempt; they have not had to ask for any help from outsiders to develop and train their skills in insulting each other.

I do not need, with this audience, to rehearse the familiar stories in the rich history of internal Californian friction: the condescension and violence directed at the Indians by Spanish and Mexican colonizers; the contempt and violence directed, in turn, at Mexicans and Indians by Anglo invaders; early opposition to the presence of free blacks; the hostility and violence directed at Chinese immigrants and Japanese immigrants and Filipino immigrants; the hatred of Okies; the scapegoating of Mexican immigrants; the exclusion of African Americans from jobs and housing; the viciousness of the Red Scare and Cold War in Hollywood; even the haughtiness of northern Californians peering down at southern Californians. One could, I think, write a thorough and coherent history of the peopling of California, and one could title that book: *California: A State of Scorn*. Californians took to wars over legitimacy like ducks to water, constantly questioning each other's right to occupy space in this state. The project of questioning each other's right to residence, questioning each other's status as real Californians, has been something close to the state sport.

Consider, for instance, the well-known, but still stunning act of arrogance involved in the Foreign Miners' taxes passed by the state in the 1850s. California belonged to Mexico in 1848. In a matter of close timing that probably sent Cortez and Coronado tossing in their graves, James Marshall came upon gold in California just before the negotiators in Mexico City signed their treaty, transferring ownership of the Southwest to the United States. Anglo Americans rushed into California, a territory in which they had hitherto been very sparsely represented, and instantly labeled the other guys "foreigners." Not only labeled them "foreigners," but designed, wrote, and imposed special taxes on these instant "foreigners" to keep them from competing with these instant legitimate Californians. The real Californians, this story reminds us, may well be the Californians who have controlled the legislature, while the rest of us, no matter how distinguished our

pedigrees, scale down from each other in degrees of insignificance.

There is no question that the power to act on, implement, and enforce one's scorn makes that scorn a great deal more consequential, but it would be foolish, and inaccurate, to imagine that a lack of power revokes or even lessens the capacity for scorn. Consider, for instance, remarks made about immigrants by a San Francisco newspaper in the 1860s. This was what the African American newspaper, the *Elevator*, said about the Chinese in California:

We have enough, and more, of them here now, eating out our substance, polluting the atmosphere with their filth, and the mind with their licentiousness.

The *Elevator*, historian Douglas Daniels tell us, "also held a low opinion of the European newcomers who caused [San Francisco's] population to swell." California, the editor of the paper felt, "should avoid the mistake of the eastern states, which erred by inviting 'the discontented and vicious of all Europe to their shores.'" African Americans hostile to immigrants drew on solid economic resentment, certain that all these "others" ranked above native-born blacks in access to jobs and opportunities: "The half idiotic and scrofulous peasant of the Swiss mountains," the *Elevator* said in the 1860s, "the lazzaroni of Italy, the bandit of Spain, the ignorant and unprincipled Greaser, the brutalized denizen of the English mines, the escaped convict from the penal settlements of Australia, all, all have been preferred to the man of color—native to the soil, and to the manner born."¹

This passage is an essential reminder that the idea of the solidarity of the oppressed is a difficult principle to put into practice. No wonder African Americans did not set themselves to building bridges of good will to the Chinese; the immediate logic of competition and resentment made a lot more sense than the abstract sentiment of joining forces against a common oppressor. Much more recently, the tensions between and among African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans, brought to public display in the Rodney King riots of 1992, offer an even more effective reminder that occasions when the oppressed transcend their differences are rare and wonderful moments of grace in western history, but never moments to take for granted.



San Francisco Chinatown street, ca. 1900, by Arnold Genthe. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants from China during and after the Gold Rush led to the immediate outbreak of anti-Chinese movements that troubled the state's civil peace for the rest of the century, resulting in violence, segregation, and legal discrimination against the Chinese. Once established, the tradition of intense anti-Asian feelings tended to shape the way older-settled groups of Californians—including other minorities—treated subsequent Asian immigrants, from the Japanese at the turn-of-the-century, to Filipinos in the early twentieth century, and continuing with the diverse Asians arriving since the 1960s. Editorial office collection.



Mary Elizabeth Roberts Smith Coolidge (1860–1945), ca. 1898. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

Mary Elizabeth (née Roberts) Coolidge was born, it would seem, to rattle the status quo at every turn. It wasn't just her Progressive politics and activism that set Mary apart. Even after one of her weekly vocal recitals at church, the audience, it was reported, gasped audibly when she confessed her enjoyment of ragtime, the pianola, and the gramophone.

A graduate of Cornell University and Stanford, where she received her doctorate in economics, Coolidge taught sociology at Stanford in the 1890s and early 1900s. Throughout her life her interests would center chiefly on immigration and race issues, feminism, and civic and settlement work. Her renowned work, *Chinese Immigration* (1909), an outgrowth of research from her "race relations" course at Stanford, demonstrated that data being given to Congress to encourage restriction of immigration was "in major part manufactured evidence."

Following a brief first marriage (during which she co-authored the song "Hail! Stanford, Hail!"), Mary Roberts Smith in 1906 married Daniel "Dane" Coolidge, who became a celebrated, prolific writer of western novels and non-fiction. A reading of Mary's correspondence, papers, and diaries, held with Dane Coolidge's papers at the Bancroft Library, reveals that during their thirty-one-year marriage, the couple traveled together through the Southwest and collaborated on several books on native American cultures.

In 1904 Mary Roberts Coolidge left Stanford. She joined the Mills College faculty in Oakland in 1918 and headed the sociology department. By the early nineteen-teens, the progressive Coolidge was regularly described as an "educator, lecturer, artist, and musician." She spoke against prostitution and advocated prenatal care for mothers. Observing that most women cared more for clothes than ideals, she urged middle-aged women to challenge themselves by securing "jobs, not a series of petty tasks."

In 1926 Coolidge retired from Mills College, and two years later she accepted an appointment to the California State Board of Education, on which she would serve for nearly a decade. With the culmination of her academic career, Mary Roberts Coolidge was widely recognized as a pioneer in scholarship among American women.

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI

Another fine demonstration of the jumbled ties between tolerance and scorn comes from a woman who has begun to emerge as my favorite Californian, the much under-recognized Mary Roberts Coolidge. Coolidge's pedigree, as a real Californian, is flawed: she was born in Indiana in 1860, and spent much of her youth in Ithaca, New York, where her father taught agriculture at Cornell. After several years of schoolteaching, she got a Ph.D. in 1896 at Stanford, and was an assistant and associate professor of sociology at Stanford. She was affil-

iated with the Carnegie Institute in Washington for a time, and worked at a settlement house in San Francisco. In 1918, she became a professor at Mills College in California; married to a writer, she lived in Berkeley until her death in 1945. Again, her pedigree is not good, but if Mary Roberts Coolidge is not a *real* Californian, then we are all in real trouble.

At Stanford, Coolidge began working on a book about Chinese immigration, a book finally published in 1909. This is, of course, a topic on which passions ran high, and ran highest in the state of California.

In twenty-four very detailed, very carefully researched chapters, Mary Roberts Coolidge laid out the history of the Chinese in California, and the rise of anti-Chinese sentiment. Her approach was remarkably clearheaded and critical. When, for instance, she discussed the Foreign Miners' Tax, she noted that the law targeted only foreigners of dark skin, and *not* "Germans, Irish, and Englishmen, . . . although many of *them*," as she said, "were not naturalized, and had far less right in the country than the native Indians and Spaniards." Coolidge was unrelenting in her exploration of the opportunism of California politicians, noting the direct and constant correlation between elections and cycles of anti-Chinese fervor. When she examined the California Senate Memorial of 1877, which asked the United States Congress for legislation that would exclude the Chinese, she found it to be a "desperate resort to misrepresentation [and] falsehood," "explained by the fact that nobody who ever expected to hold office dared to say a word in favor of the Chinese." When white workmen began to blame all their troubles on the Chinese, Coolidge was direct and careful in examining the causes of the depression in California economic life, a state of affairs that the Chinese could not possibly have caused.²

Coolidge's legislative history of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law remains one of the best available, and she was typically clear in her judgment of the law, noting that it committed "the United States to a race discrimination at variance with our professed theories of government." She noted how the law separated Chinese families; without the free immigration of women, Chinese men could hardly create a normal society. In the absence of Chinese women, some Chinese men married Indian, Mexican, or Anglo women. In an era in which many whites abhorred miscegenation, Coolidge was very much on her own track of opinion. The children of these mixed marriages, she said, "so far from being the 'monstrosities' predicted by early Californians, are superior, both physically and mentally." Even if one doesn't know what provided her evidence for this assertion of superiority, one still has to admire the generosity and tolerance of that assertion.³

Coolidge denied that the Chinese refused to assimilate; "it does indeed," she said, "take two to assimilate." The alleged Chinese stubbornness in resisting

change was "the least convincing and most inconsistent of all the arguments against Chinese immigration," she said, "in the mouths of those who have not wished them to assimilate nor given them opportunity to do so." The Chinese had been excluded because of "their virtues, not their vices"—because they were "industrious, thrifty, shrewd, conservative, and healthily selfish—like many Europeans." Their very virtues made them a menace to the monopoly of jobs by white workers. The exclusion of the Chinese arose from an "arrogant and narrow-minded temper bred by pioneer conditions, monopolistic spirit and the lack of sanity and justice." "Injustice" on that scale, Mrs. Coolidge proclaimed, "has brought, and will not fail to bring, retribution in the degradation of those who practice it," and California had badly damaged itself with its "lawlessness, class hatred, incapacity for cooperation."⁴

But now we get back to the matter of consistency in tolerance. Mrs. Coolidge's determination to defend the Chinese meant that she sometimes took a good, solid swipe at European immigrants. "Every charge brought against the Chinaman," she wrote, "can be brought with greater force against many of the Europeans who now constitute the bulk of immigration at the Atlantic ports." And Coolidge did not sit around waiting for others to suggest what those charges might be. "To bring the comparison nearer home," she said,

it is perfectly well-known that the Italian quarter of San Francisco is unsanitary and immoral; that the Italians are clannish and very slow to speak English; that some of them are drunken, violent, even murderous; that only those of the better class assimilate in the first generation and that their children leave school early and are by no means always cleanly or intelligent. It is common knowledge that the Italian has a very low standard of living, that he accepts a low wage, that he is not easily "unionized," and that he pays an infinitesimal part of the state revenue. Yet no one in California proposes that the Italian should go, for two reasons: because he is a Caucasian and because he has a useful vote.

I begin to suspect that Italian Americans living in California will not be joining me in the campaign to make Mary Roberts Coolidge a California hero. I fear I will not do a lot better in recruiting the support of Irish Americans: "In California," Coolidge wrote,



Mary Roberts Smith (later Coolidge), left, her first husband, Albert W. Smith, right, and a friend, Clelia D. Mosher, pose with their bicycles in front of the Smith residence in Palo Alto, at the corner of Kingsley and Waverley streets. This neighborhood, familiarly called "Professorville," was home to many members of Stanford's faculty. This and other photographs and portraits of Mary Coolidge are among those found in the Coolidge Family Albums, housed in the special collections department of the Stanford University Libraries. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

although [the Irish] averaged only 5 to 7% of the total population, they constitute forty per cent of the almshouse inmates and nearly half of the arrests for drunkenness.⁵

"Oh my goodness, Mrs. Coolidge," one does find oneself thinking, "does the cause of standing up for the Chinese really require you to knock down the Italians and the Irish? Isn't there a way in which you could stand up for the recognition of the Chinese as real, legitimate, deserving Californians, without suggesting that Irish people incline toward madness and alcoholism? Can't one stand up for the rights of the Chinese without having to imply that the Italians are scum?"

These are interesting moments for me, these occasions when I try, and try quite hard, to strike up a conversation with someone from the past. I would very much like to have this conversation about consistency in tolerance with Coolidge, and with the African American editor of the newspaper, the *Elevator*, and also with Frederick Law Olmsted. Olmsted spent two years trying to manage an estate at Mariposa from 1863 to 1865. In general, Olmsted thought that life in California was a mess: "Everything [is] as it must be," he said, "where men don't live but merely camp." Olmsted was quite good at designing urban parks, but he was even better when it came to wielding scorn and contempt. John C. Frémont, his predecessor at Mariposa, for instance,

was, as Olmsted put it, "a selfish, treacherous, unmitigated scoundrel." Olmsted, in other words, did not like Frémont.⁶

Olmsted was so good at scorn that one's patience with him can run short. The United States, he thought, was peopled by "the weaker, the poorer, the more vagrant; the least valuable and the least civilized." The good, in other words, stayed home. "I hate barbarism and like civilization in all its forms," Olmsted wrote. "I wish I could live in England."⁷ When one reads this snooty line, this classic statement of the conviction that the grass is always greener on the eastern side of the fence, one feels inclined to say, "Why don't just you do that, Mr. Olmsted? Try living in England, and see what that does to your comparative understanding of barbarism."

For all his snootiness, Olmsted wrote tolerantly, if also patronizingly, of the Chinese; in comparison with the whites, he said, the Chinese were "the more industrious, peaceable, temperate and altogether respectable and civilized." But here, too, California tolerance came in skips and starts. The same person who wrote with some openmindedness on the Chinese offered this judgment of another group of people: "After a few generations," Olmsted said of the gradual process of uplift of the degraded, "after a few generations, even the Irish may generally adopt the habits of a progressive civilization."⁸

My point, with Olmsted and Coolidge and many other similar case studies, is that it is hard to find consistent, clear, coherent examples of tolerance. Saying nice things about one group seems to induce a powerful urge to say something crummy about another group. But my point is also that we very badly need heroes of tolerance and empathy these days, and we simply can't wait around, hoping for purity and consistency in these heroes. By the time we find a hero of unquestioned clarity, purity, nobility, and consistency, we will have torn each other apart. Making our peace with the muddled state of our moral heroes might, in truth, allow us more room for moral heroism in our own muddled times. An example of pure and consistent nobility, if we could find such a thing, would, in my judgment, be close to useless; as flawed creatures ourselves, we find better and truer and certainly more practical inspiration in heroes who do not approach perfection.

In that spirit, I turn to one of the most frustrating of these California case studies in impure and complex empathy. In 1983, a book came out called *Famous All Over Town*, by a fellow named Danny Santiago. I was living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and I was wild for the opportunity to read stories from the West. So I got a copy right away, and became, as a lot of reviewers did as well, an instant fan of Danny Santiago. What a great book, I told a number of people; a great portrait of Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, written with a vernacular voice that obviously has some relation to Huck Finn, but that has its own distinctive descendant-of-Mexican-immigrants style.

Who was this Danny Santiago?

Who, indeed?

A year passed, and I had enthusiastically recommended this book to a number of people. I had moved from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Boulder, Colorado, and a certain lingering form of East Coast dependence had kept me on the subscriber list for the *New York Review of Books*. So I was one of the first to get the word when an article appeared there in 1984, with the answer to my question, "Who was Danny Santiago?"

Danny Santiago, as many now know, proved to be, not a young Chicaño writer, but an elderly white man named Dan James, with, of course, "James" translating to "Santiago" in Spanish. Dan James was from a wealthy white family in Kansas City, Missouri, a family with a second home in Carmel. In the 1930s and the 1940s, he worked in Hollywood and joined the Communist Party. In 1951, three years after he left the party, he and his wife were called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Dan James was blacklisted. Writing under his own name became an impossibility.

While they lived in Los Angeles, Dan and Lillith James spent a great deal of time in a Mexican American community in East Los Angeles. For fifteen years they worked with youth groups. They made many friends and became *compadres*—godparents—in a number of families. As Dan James wrote his friend John Gregory Dunne:

Our closest *compadre* was Lalo Rios and it was his family and his wife Connie's that we knew best. We baptized Lalo's Ruben and five years later shared 24 hour watches as Ruben died of leukemia. We baptized their third son Tomas and in '74 we buried Lalo

who we thought would one day bury us. . . . And now we stay with his widow when we're in LA . . . you can say that over the past 35 years we've known four generations of Mexicanos in their best and worst of times. . . .

In the 1960s, Dan James began writing stories about a Mexican American community in Los Angeles, stories that appeared under the name "Danny Santiago." James could not, John Gregory Dunne said, "write under his own name both because of the blacklist and because he had lost confidence in his own ability." Danny, Dan James told Dunne, is "so much freer than I am myself."⁹

John Gregory Dunne revealed this hidden story in August of 1984. *Famous All Over Town* had received very favorable reviews, some of them from Chicano reviewers. When the news about Dan James came out, everyone was flummoxed. The young Chicano writer we had admired so much had proven to be an old white man. As far as I can tell, over the last ten years, we have stayed flummoxed. I myself stopped recommending the book, put it on a shelf, and did not dare look at it, on the chance that it might turn out that I still liked it. But alas, I reread it recently, and I still like it, and after ten years of being flummoxed by this curious and unsettling event in California identity, it is time to reckon with it.

The distinguished African American scholar of literature and culture, Henry Louis Gates, has called our attention to the issues raised by *Famous All Over Town*, in a recent essay on "authenticity." "'Passing' and 'impersonation,'" Gates writes, "may sound like quaint terms of a bygone era of ethnic thinking, but they continue to inform the way we read. Our literary judgments, in short, remain hostage to the ideology of authenticity." The result is that we treat American authors a bit as we would treat show dogs or show cats; we want to know their pedigrees; we want to see their papers; we want proof of their line of descent. When someone like Dan James presents the wrong papers, we travel through disorientation, and arrive rapidly at disappointment and disillusionment. "Start interrogating the notion of cultural authenticity," Gates says, "and our most trusted critical categories come into question. Maybe Danny Santiago's *Famous All Over Town*," Gates writes, "can usefully be considered a work of Chicano literature."¹⁰

Maybe. But it can certainly be considered a use-

ful artifact for thinking about ethnicity and identity in our times. After the House Un-American Activities Committee split James's Hollywood community into the informers and the informed-upon, and after the blacklist took away his chances to write under his own name, Dan James became a socially unmoored, unanchored person. He found an anchor in a Mexican American neighborhood in East Los Angeles. American historians have a standard way of handling this kind of story: this becomes another case study, to be matched with the stories of people like George Catlin, Charles Fletcher Lummis, Mary Austin, John Collier, and many others—case studies in anti-modernism, case studies in romantic racialism, case studies of white people rendered uncomfortable by their own society, who sought, in the company of people of color, an imagined, warm-hearted, vital alternative to the coldness of life in a modern, industrial, urban nation-state.

I don't think that's a satisfactory framework for Dan James. Dan James did not *imagine* that life in his modern nation-state was cold and unsatisfying; it is, on the contrary, hard to imagine a more cold and unsatisfying treatment than the one he got during the McCarthy era. The Mexican American people he turned to were *not* a timeless alternative to life in a modern, urban, industrial nation-state; they were themselves fully a part of that modern, industrial, urban nation-state life, just as fully participants in modern life as the congressmen who put Dan James through his grilling in 1951.

"Yes, Virginia, there *is* a Danny Santiago," Henry Louis Gates concludes his reflections on authenticity. In Danny Santiago, there is a compelling reminder that the quest for ethnic identity is as much spiritual as it is political. When we confront the fact that Dan James could write as Danny and could *not* write as his Anglo-Kansas-City-elite-post-Communist-Party-Dan James self, we are on the turf of cultural politics, but we are also on turf that lies close to the soul. Whatever that maddening term "authenticity" might mean, there was authenticity, and real urgency, in Dan James's search for a set of relationships more trustworthy than the company of the informers and ideologues of Cold War Hollywood. If we describe James's relationship to Mexican American ethnicity purely in terms of trendy anti-modernism, romantic racialism, or even a kinder, gentler cultural imperialism, we give a deep story a shallow meaning.

What is, to me, most terrifying about the present state of American race relations is the evidence that many white Americans are indifferent to, ignorant of, or even bored by the dilemmas faced by people of color. Whatever else Dan James signifies, he signifies a response to ethnicity that is radically different from that chilling lack of empathy. "No human culture," Henry Louis Gates tells us, "is inaccessible to someone who makes the effort to understand, to learn to inhabit another world." And that conclusion, one has to hope, is the conclusion we might reach in our inquiries into California history.¹¹

In 1855, the African American minister Darius Stokes offered his own statement about who registered as a *real* Californian, and it is one of the most memorable passages of prose in this state's records. "The white man came," Reverend Stokes said,

and we came with him; and by the blessing of God we will stay with him side by side; wherever he goes will we go; and should another Sutter discover another El Dorado, be it where it may. . . no sooner shall the white man's foot be firmly planted there than looking over his shoulder he will see the black man, like his shadow, by his side.¹²

Reverend Stokes not only had the gift of language, he also had the gift of prophecy. What he said would happen is what *has* happened: wherever white people have gone in this state, black people have also gone, and gone in the company of Indian, Latino, and Asian people as well. The history of California may not have matched the ride at Disneyland in its cheeriness, but California has proven to be, as Reverend Stokes realized, a small world. We are not escaping each other's company; African American, Indian, Latino, Asian American, Anglo American—we are all real Californians, and our stories will not be detached from each other. What Stokes predicted is simply truth. And yet it is my guess that most white people who have read Darius Stokes's remarkable statement have reacted to it as an ominous, disturbing, and unsettling prophecy. Remember those words: "No sooner shall the white man's foot be firmly planted than, looking over his shoulder, he shall see the black man, like a shadow, by his side." I suspect most whites who have read this statement have responded with something closer to "Oh dear" than "Thank heavens." Even if this means that I stand convicted as an unreformed believer in the



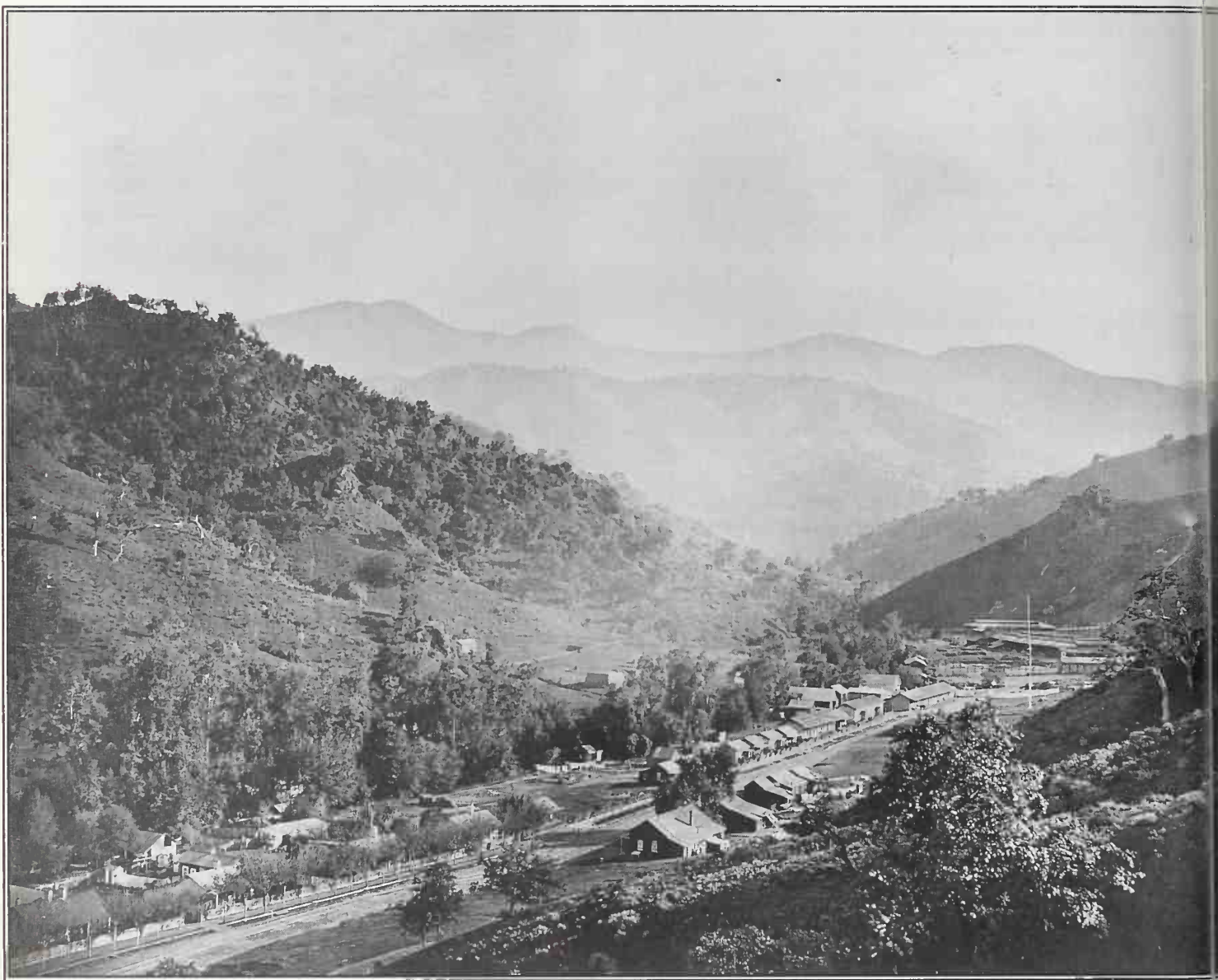
Historian Patricia Nelson Limerick chats with graduate students attending the annual conference of the Western History Association, Albuquerque, October 1994. Photograph by editorial staff.

"small, small world" vision of cross-cultural harmony, I still go on record with my belief that *real* California historians live under a mandate for inclusiveness, a mandate that makes "Thank heavens" a more viable, logical, and persuasive response than "Oh dear."

CHS

See notes beginning on page 336.

Native-born Californian Patricia Nelson Limerick is a distinguished historian of the American West. Holder of a bachelor's degree from the University of California, Santa Cruz, she journeyed east to earn her doctorate from Yale University. She is a prolific author and editor of western Americana, including the acclaimed *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987), one of the most provocative books in the emergence of new interpretations of the West. Dr. Limerick now resides in Boulder, Colorado, where she is a member of the history faculty at the University of Colorado. Among her most treasured recent honors is her designation by the university as its official jester.



About 1880, the great California photographer Carleton E. Watkins was commissioned to complete a set of documentary photographs of the famous New Almaden quicksilver mine in the foothills west of the Santa Clara Valley south of San Jose. In this view, the mine, residences, and business offices had the distinct look of a company town, with a tree-shaded lane, sidewalk and a row of similar small cottages. *Courtesy California State Library.*

NEW ALMADEN AND CALIFORNIA QUICKSILVER IN THE PACIFIC RIM ECONOMY

by David J. St. Clair

Introduction

Quicksilver—mercury—is a metal with properties and uses that have given it a unique role in the development of the world economy. The name quicksilver derives from its color and its liquid state throughout the normal range of climatic temperatures. It is mined from cinnabar, a reddish rock, and is readily extracted by heating the rock to vaporize the quicksilver. One of the earliest uses of cinnabar was as a body paint. Later, quicksilver was used in the production of vermilion, a prized red pigment. Quicksilver was also used in explosives, in the plating of mirrors, in scientific instruments, and in medicines.

But quicksilver's most important use has been in the recovery of gold and silver from mineral ores. Quicksilver has an affinity for gold and silver that was known to ancient alchemists and miners. In 1554, the Patio Process for recovering silver and gold with quicksilver was invented in Mexico.¹ Ore was crushed, wetted, and quicksilver, salt, and copper added. The mixture was spread out in large patios and periodically mixed. The quicksilver formed an amalgam with gold and silver. The amalgam was recovered and heated to vaporize the mercury, leaving the precious metals behind. The mercury vapor was collected and most of the mercury was recovered for further use.

In the 1860s, the Washoe Process was invented to treat silver ore from the Comstock Lode. The Washoe Process employed mercury amalgamation, improving on the Patio Process by replacing the patio with vats and adding heat to speed up and improve recovery.²

The dramatic silver flows from Spanish America that began in the sixteenth century were made possible by the Patio Process. There were other ways of recovering silver—smelting, for example—but these methods were generally expensive and often impractical. Mexican and Peruvian mines soon came to depend on mercury amalgamation, and trade in quicksilver was placed under a crown monopoly. Silver and gold output soared.

Historically, deposits of cinnabar in exploitable concentrations have been rare, and only a handful of mines have produced almost all of the world's output. Most of the world's output of quicksilver has come from one mine, the Almaden Mine in Spain. Colonial mines in Mexico and Peru used quicksilver from Almaden and from another rich mine discovered at Huancavelica, Peru, in 1563. Almaden produced 2.8 million flasks of quicksilver, or 51 percent of western output, from the mid-sixteenth century to 1850.³ Huancavelica produced 1.5 million flasks, or 27 percent, while mines at Idria, Slovenia, produced 1.3 million flasks, or 22 percent. Almaden



Mine entrance, lower center, at New Almaden quicksilver mine, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. Courtesy California State Library.

and Huancavelica were usually able to meet the demands of the Mexican and Peruvian mines, but quicksilver shortages and high quicksilver prices were a constant concern. At times, quicksilver had to be imported from Idria, and unsuccessful attempts were made to import quicksilver from China.⁴

By the early nineteenth century, Huancavelica was exhausted, and quicksilver production in the western world was essentially confined to Almaden and Idria. However, by 1835, both Almaden and Idria had been acquired by the Rothschild international banking family, giving them a monopoly on quicksilver production.

New Almaden and California Quicksilver

Quicksilver was discovered in a cave in the hills south of San Jose, California, in 1845. The discovery lay across the Santa Cruz Mountains from Monterey, the Mexican capital of Alta California. It was originally called the Santa Clara Mine, until the name was changed to New Almaden after ore assays revealed quicksilver concentrations far greater even than those found at the great Spanish mine.

Sporadic production at New Almaden occurred between 1846 and 1848, and quicksilver was shipped to Mazatlán, Mexico,⁵ although full production did

not begin until 1850. New Almaden's production is shown in Table 1, while European quicksilver output is shown in Table 2. New Almaden output quickly surpassed Almaden and Idria, prompting the discovery of other quicksilver mines in California. From 1850 to 1900, California quicksilver mines produced half of the world's output—this at a time when world demand for quicksilver was high due to gold and silver discoveries in California, Nevada, other western states, Canada, Alaska, and Australia. In the late 1870s, California mines were producing two-thirds of the world's output of quicksilver and putting pressure on the Rothschild cartel. The cartel was unable to maintain price discipline, leading to vigorous competition for world markets in the early 1880s.⁶

Quicksilver mining was an early and significant industry in California. Until the 1890s, the value of California quicksilver was only surpassed by the state's gold production, itself made possible in large part by California quicksilver.⁷ New Almaden was California's first and, until 1892, its largest, quicksilver mine. It has been described as the single richest mine in California history.⁸

Cinnabar deposits at New Almaden were found in erratic pockets that caused output to fluctuate through the years. But continuous production went on until 1927, and intermittent production until 1973. A secular decline began after 1890, however, and after that the mine was periodically characterized as exhausted. The depletion of the mine after 1890 and the availability of data have limited the study here to the period 1850 to 1890.

California Quicksilver Exports?

Historians have generally linked the development of New Almaden and California quicksilver mining with the California Gold Rush and the development of the Comstock silver lode. A U.S. Bureau of Mines report in 1875 stated that "most of the metal [quicksilver] is consumed at the mines in the different mining states and territories, the Comstock mines using the largest amount of any one section."⁹ In *California Gold*, Rodman Paul states that at New Almaden, "a small amount of mercury was secured in 1848. The mine did not come into pro-

Table 1: New Almaden and California Quicksilver Production (in 76.5-pound flasks)

Year	New Almaden	New Almaden % of California	California
1850	7,723	100.0%	7,723
1851	27,779	100.0	27,779
1852	15,901	79.5	20,000
1853	22,284	100.0	22,284
1854	30,004	100.0	30,004
1855	29,142	88.3	33,000
1856	27,138	90.5	30,000
1857	28,204	100.0	28,204
1858	25,761	83.1	31,000
1859	1,294*	10.0	13,000
1860	7,061*	70.6	10,000
1861	34,429	98.4	35,000
1862	39,671	94.5	42,000
1863	32,803	80.9	40,531
1864	42,489	89.5	47,489
1865	47,194	89.0	53,000
1866	35,150	75.5	46,550
1867	24,461	52.0	47,000
1868	25,628	53.7	47,728
1869	16,898	50.0	33,811
1870	14,423	48.0	30,077
1871	18,568	58.6	31,686
1872	18,574	58.7	31,621
1873	11,042	39.9	27,642
1874	9,084	32.7	27,756
1875	13,648	27.2	50,250
1876	20,549	27.4	75,074
1877	23,996	30.2	79,396
1878	15,852	24.8	63,880
1879	20,514	27.8	73,684
1880	23,465	39.2	59,926
1881	26,060	42.8	60,851
1882	28,070	53.2	52,732
1883	29,000	62.1	46,725
1884	20,000	62.7	31,913
1885	21,400	66.7	32,073
1886	18,000	60.0	29,981
1887	20,000	59.2	33,760
1888	18,000	54.1	33,250
1889	13,100	49.5	26,464
1890	12,000	52.3	22,926
Total	916,359		1,567,770

* The New Almaden Mine was closed by court injunction from October 30, 1858, through January 1861. Small amounts were nonetheless produced.

Source: Almaden and California production figures are from: U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 166.

Table 2: European Quicksilver Production, 1850–88
(in 76.07-pound flasks)*

Year	Almaden and Idria (Combined)	Almaden	Idria	Italy
1850–54	101,517			
1855–59	110,058			
1860–64	122,117			
1865–69	153,224			
1870–74	165,608			
1875–79	208,200			
1880		41,640	12,358	
1881		50,353	11,333	
1882		46,591	11,663	
1883		46,143	13,152	6,065
1884		43,099	13,967	7,850
1885		46,739	13,503	6,965
1886		51,199	14,496	7,375
1887		53,276	14,676	7,500
1888		51,872	n/a	n/a

* Flasks here are smaller than the 76.5-pound flasks used in the United States at this time.

Source: U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1888* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 105–106.

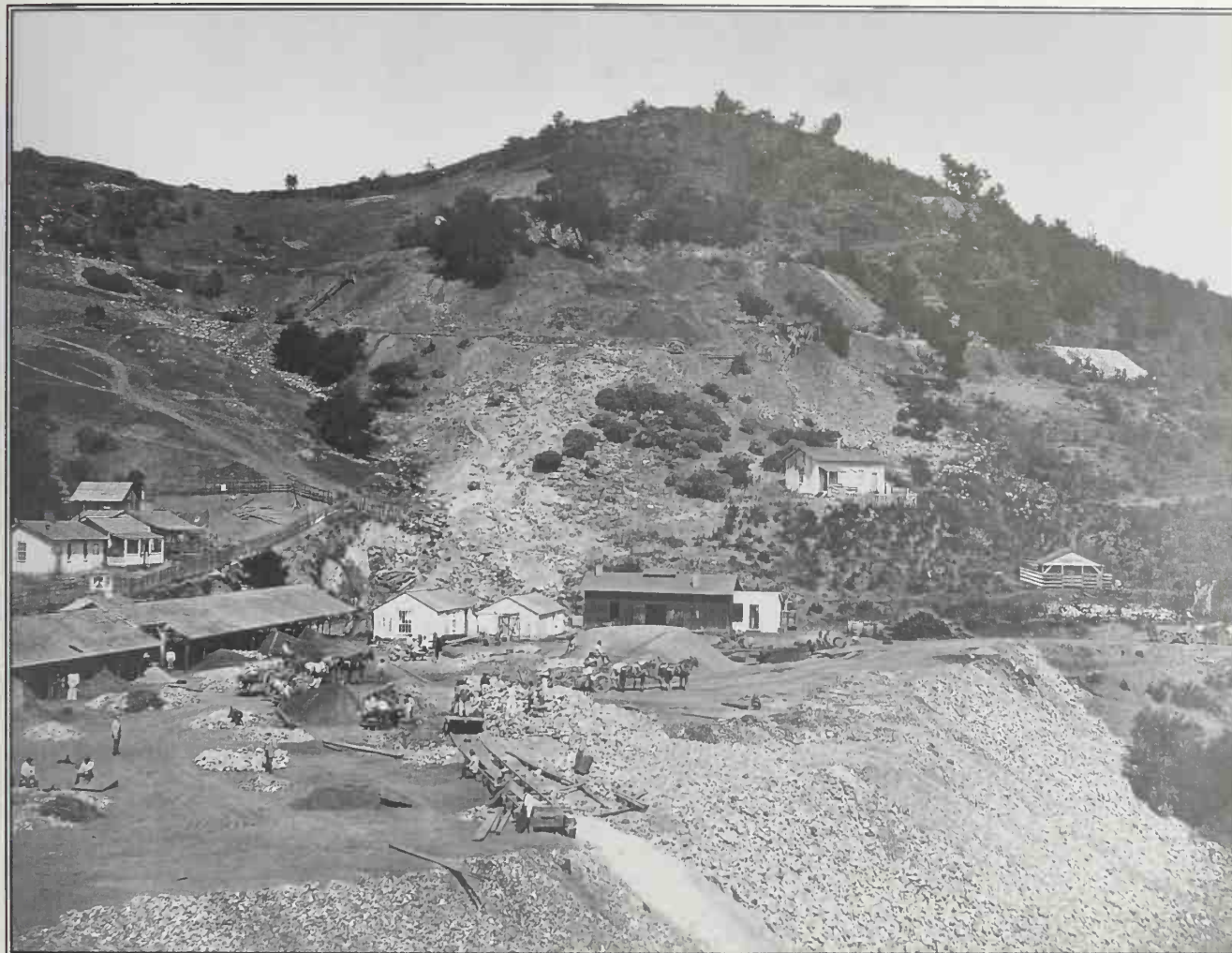
duction on a significant scale, however, until two and a half years after Marshall's discovery at Coloma. The Gold Rush gave the New Almaden company a huge local market for their product, and conversely, after 1850 New Almaden was able to provide the gold miners with an indispensable aid to their operations."¹⁰ In *Mercury: A History of Quicksilver*, Leonard Goldwater expresses a similar view: "The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and subsequent gold discoveries in various parts of the West up to the 1870s created a huge demand for mercury to be used for purification of the precious metal by amalgamation."¹¹ He also states that cinnabar was discovered at New Almaden in 1834 or earlier and attributes the delay in developing the mine to a lack of demand and to a lack zeal on the part of Califor-

nia's Mexican officials. California's admission to the United States is therefore seen as instrumental in developing California quicksilver because it brought American administration together with American demand for quicksilver.

This interpretation sees the discovery of silver at the Comstock Lode in Nevada in 1859 as further extending the domestic market for California quicksilver. In an extensive history of the New Almaden mine, Jimmie Schneider describes how Comstock Washoe mills placed "sizable orders" for quicksilver after 1873.¹² Likewise, Henry Splitter describes the Comstock as a "very good customer" in the 1880s, when Nevada mills were taking an average of 3,299 flasks per year.¹³ New Almaden received sixty percent of these sales, with other California mines picking up the remainder.

Chronology and proximity have caused these and most other historians to view California and Nevada demand as the catalyst for developing California quicksilver. However, there are hints in the literature of sizable California quicksilver exports. An early visitor to the mine, Mrs. S. A. Downer, published her account of her visit to New Almaden in 1854 in *California Monthly Magazine*.¹⁴ She wrote that: "The amount of quicksilver used in California, is much less than is generally supposed. Notwithstanding the increase in gold mining, the whole amount for home consumption, does not exceed one hundred flasks per month. The exports to Chile and China, are not large; much of that imported by the latter country, is mixed with sulfur and reconverted into the vermilion of commerce. Seven-ninths of the sales are made to Mexico, where it is extensively used in the silver mines of that country."¹⁵ Schneider also noted that New Almaden "freely supplied all of the Hispanic-American and California market," and later referred to "excessive export sales" between 1865 and 1872.¹⁶ He added that there were 46,000 flasks awaiting consignment sale in China and London in 1865, an amount only slightly less than the record 47,194 flasks produced at New Almaden that year.¹⁷

Historian Henry W. Splitter reported that exports to China were "heavy" in 1865, averaging about 3,000 flasks per month.¹⁸ But like Schneider, he did not develop any data on exports beyond this isolated observation. Donald Brown repeats Splitter's obser-



"Buildings and Works" of the New Almaden mine, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. Debris excavated from the mine was evacuated via railroad carts and dumped down the hillside. Demonstrating the environmental ignorance and carelessness of the pioneer generation, debris heaps of one sort or another, some extending for miles, were common legacies of mining in the gold-rush days. Still evident throughout California, some mining debris sites continue to leak lethal substances, particularly mercury, into water systems and the broader environment. *Courtesy California State Library.*

vation about the size of China exports in 1865, but offers no additional data. He does, however, state that after 1884 quicksilver prices and the income of California quicksilver mines became "dependent upon the entire world consumption and not so much upon California and Nevada mines."¹⁹

This paper challenges the view that California gold and Nevada silver were the principal catalysts to the development of the California quicksilver mines. California and Nevada were significant markets for California quicksilver, but Pacific exports

were more important. The impetus for the development of New Almaden was Mexican demand for quicksilver, along with a bounty offered by the Mexican government for a Mexican quicksilver mine. After the U.S. annexation of California, Pacific mercury exports exceeded the domestic demand from the gold and silver rushes. While not the catalyst for developing California quicksilver, California and Nevada gold and silver mines were significant beneficiaries of California quicksilver production.

This paper focuses on two lines of inquiry. First,



The smelting works of the New Almaden quicksilver mine, as photographed by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. *Courtesy California State Library.*

the events surrounding the discovery of quicksilver will be reviewed. This is an important issue because it has been alleged that New Almaden development was delayed by a lack of demand or by lax Mexican government policy. Second, California quicksilver export statistics have been compiled. One important reason historians have neglected the study of exports has been the absence of comprehensive export data. Mine statistics have often been of little value because agents were used to handle sales. In addition, government reports often presented export data in a confusing and unusable manner. Exports statistics, for example, usually included shipments to New York. While these shipments may have been exports from the Pacific economy, they were not exports in the traditional sense. The procedures used to compile export data are discussed in the Appendix.

The Discovery of Quicksilver at New Almaden

Was the development of New Almaden delayed in the Mexican period due to a lack of demand for quicksilver that was alleviated by the Gold Rush? Some scholars, including those cited above, have suggested that this was the case. This incorrect view can be traced in large part to confusion over when quicksilver was discovered at New Almaden. The cinnabar cave at New Almaden had long been mined by Indians seeking the red earth that they used for body paint. The red earth was apparently traded over a wide geographical area and had been dug to a

depth of about sixty feet when padres from Mission Santa Clara were taken to the mine, sometime around 1800.²⁰ The red pigment was thereafter used to decorate the mission walls.

The cave was subsequently worked by Mexican miners as a gold and silver mine in 1824, and again in 1835. The gold and silver mine was unsuccessful, but Goldwater claims that cinnabar was recognized at least by 1834, but not developed.²¹ He also cites evidence that there were "hints" of mercury deposits in California as early as 1796, but a lack of demand and the disinterest of Mexican officials kept mines from being developed. Splitter also sees a delay, but his source is quite different.²² He recounts a version of a popular story about how the padres taken to the mine immediately recognized the red rock as cinnabar. The Indians also told them of discovering "living water" in the rocks when fire was brought into contact with the red stones. The padres understood this to be quicksilver, but suppressed the knowledge, fearing an influx of the ungodly, who would corrupt the souls of the Indians.

Neither of these very different accounts is correct. The story about the padres suppressing knowledge of quicksilver at the mine is implausible and irrelevant. The existence of the mine was never suppressed, so the real question is, why did the miners not work it for cinnabar? In any case, if the padres did suppress knowledge of quicksilver at the mine, slow development would not have been the result of any lack of demand or lax political administration.

Goldwater's argument is more serious and rests on his claim that cinnabar was identified by 1834. But a more factual account is given by Schneider.²³ The miners who worked the mine in 1824 and 1835 were puzzled by their inability to extract the gold and silver that they thought to be responsible for the color and weight of the rock. Miners in Mexico had encountered similar problems with ores that defied recovery, so the New Almaden problem was not unique.²⁴ On one occasion, the gold and silver miners at New Almaden applied quicksilver to the red ore, but became more confused when the quicksilver disappeared into the rock.

It was not until 1845 that the red rock was identified as cinnabar. In October of that year, General José Castro and Captain Don Andrés Castillero were

passing through Santa Clara on the way to Sutter's Fort to negotiate the purchase of Sutter's property on behalf of the Mexican Government. Captain Castillero had some training in mineralogy and learned of the mine that had been abandoned because the silver could not be extracted. Castillero was taken to the cave, but was unable to solve the extraction problem. But he too was convinced that gold or silver was present, and he initially registered a claim for "a vein of silver, with a ley of gold" with the local alcalde.²⁵

Sometime on the return trip from Sutter's Fort, Captain Castillero solved the mystery—the heavy metal had to be quicksilver. At an after-dinner experiment at Mission Santa Clara, Castillero heated the red rock and collected the vapor in a small glass. Quicksilver collected on the glass, confirming the discovery.

Castillero immediately understood the value and implications of his discovery. A quicksilver mine could be far more valuable than a gold or silver discovery, and Castillero was convinced that he had found the basis for a "wedding" of Alta California with Mexico. In addition, a significant mercury mine in Alta California qualified for a substantial bounty. In 1843, the Mexican Government, through the Junta de Formento, had established a \$100,000 bounty for any Mexican citizen who discovered and developed a quicksilver mine in Mexican territory. Castillero thus registered his quicksilver discovery with local officials and proceeded to produce about three hundred pounds of quicksilver a day. He followed the Mexican custom of dividing interest in the mine into twenty-four *barras*, or shares, keeping half for himself and distributing the other half to his partners at the mission, the original miners, and California officials.

In April 1846, Castillero returned to Mexico with ore samples that assayed at a remarkable thirty-five percent, far richer even than Almaden. The Junta de Formento gave Castillero a nine-point program for meeting the bounty requirements. In the process of complying with the bounty requirements, Castillero was on a ship returning to California when he learned of the Bear Flag Revolt. Fearing that his claim would not be honored by the Americans, he cut short his journey and never returned to California. More-



A smelting furnace at the New Almaden quicksilver mine, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. Courtesy California State Library.

over, since California had fallen out of Mexican control, the bounty would never be paid.

In this situation, Castillero sold part of his *barras* to the firm of Barron-Forbes of Tepic, Mexico. The owners of Barron-Forbes were British businessmen who had become naturalized Mexican citizens. With interests in Mexican silver mines, Barron-Forbes saw opportunity in a California quicksilver mine. In addition to buying shares, they negotiated a contract with Castillero to develop the mine.²⁶

Barron-Forbes operated the mine for the next fourteen years, extracting over 340,000 flasks of quicksilver valued at more than eighteen million dollars, half of which was profit.²⁷ But they were quickly drawn into a long and bitter fight over ownership of the mine. The dispute grew out of a poorly defined

boundary separating two Mexican land grants in the area, allegations that Captain Castillero had not properly registered his claim, and charges of fraud and land grabbing. The Barron-Forbes claim (based on the Castillero claim) was challenged by a group holding title to adjacent land, who claimed that the mine was on their property and that the Castillero claim was fraudulent. At the same time, the United States government claimed that the mine was actually on public land. The U.S. attorney general called New Almaden "the richest land on the globe," and the government sought to protect its interests with a court injunction in October 1858 that closed the mine for two years. President Lincoln also sent troops to seize the mine in 1863, but the order was quickly rescinded. The matter went through district and circuit courts before finally landing before the United States Supreme Court.²⁸

The court proceedings lasted seven years and

produced one of the most voluminous cases ever heard by the Supreme Court. The case took many twists and turns, but in the end the Supreme Court in 1864 invalidated Castillero's claim, and Barron-Forbes sold its interest to the Quicksilver Mining Company for \$1.75 million. A Pennsylvania corporation organized by the opposing litigants, the Quicksilver Mining Company operated the mine into the twentieth century.

With regard to the issue of when and why production began at the mine, it is clear that cinnabar was not identified at New Almaden until 1845 and that there was no delay in developing the mine after that. Shipments were made to Mazatlán in 1848 and full production, under the auspices of Barron-Forbes, began in July 1850. Given the political and ownership uncertainties and the necessity of bringing in equipment and constructing the reduction works, it is remarkable how fast the mine was developed. Barron-Forbes was certainly aware of the demand for quicksilver in Mexico, and there is no evidence to suggest any delay due to concerns about demand. Certainly the California Gold Rush presented Barron-Forbes with an unexpected bonus. But given the history of quicksilver in Mexico and the bounty, it is hard to believe that New Almaden would not have been developed into a world-class mine even in the absence of the Gold Rush.

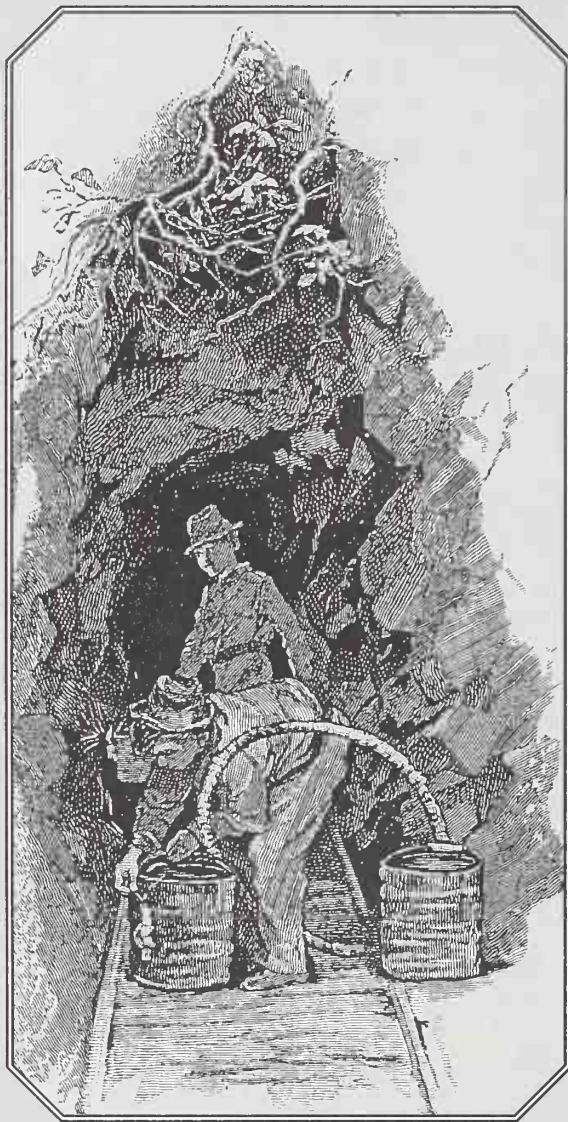
California Quicksilver as an Export Industry

Table 3 shows my compilation of California quicksilver exports, which clearly shows that it was exports, primarily along the Pacific Rim, that consumed most production. For the entire period 1852–90, 57.1 percent of California quicksilver was exported. Exports were greatest during the first two decades, which included both the California Gold Rush and the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Exports took 67.5 percent of output in the 1850s and 72.0 percent in the 1860s. Exports in the 1870s took 51.0 percent of output, but exports were low in the early part of the decade and higher in the second half. During 1870–74, exports only took 34.9 percent of output. Overseas shipments recovered in 1875 and remained substantial through 1883. Exports in

Table 3: California Quicksilver Exports
(in 76.5-pound flasks)

Year	California Production	Exports	Exports as % of California Production
1850	7,723	n/a	n/a
1851	27,779	n/a	n/a
1852	20,000	900	4.5
1853	22,284	12,737	57.2
1854	30,004	20,963	69.9
1855	33,000	27,165	82.3
1856	30,000	23,740	79.1
1857	28,204	27,262	96.7
1858	31,000	24,142	77.9
1859	13,000*	3,149*	24.2
1860	10,000*	9,048*	90.5
1861	35,000	35,395	101.1
1862	42,000	31,482	75.0
1863	40,531	25,919	63.9
1864	47,489	35,223	74.2
1865	53,000	34,050	64.2
1866	46,550	30,287	65.1
1867	47,000	25,953	55.2
1868	47,728	40,006	83.8
1869	33,811	25,915	67.8
1870	30,077	12,788	42.5
1871	31,686	14,405	45.5
1872	31,621	11,896	37.6
1873	27,642	6,359	23.0
1874	27,756	6,455	23.3
1875	50,250	28,673	57.1
1876	75,074	38,046	50.7
1877	79,396	50,906	64.1
1878	63,880	33,365	52.2
1879	73,684	47,383	64.3
1880	59,926	37,210	62.1
1881	60,851	35,107	57.7
1882	52,732	33,875	64.2
1883	46,725	30,072	64.4
1884	31,913	10,874	34.1
1885	32,073	10,302	32.1
1886	29,981	6,091	20.3
1887	33,760	11,394	33.8
1888	33,250	10,684	22.4
1889	26,464	5,930	14.9
1890	22,926	3,425	15.0
Total 1852-90	1,532,268	875,576	

* New Almaden mine closed by court injunction.
Source: See Appendix.



"'Packing' Water from Bush Tunnel," a drawing by Mary Hallock Foote, from her article, "A California Mining Camp," published in *Scribner's Monthly* (February 1878). An artist, essayist, and novelist, Mary Hallock Foote was a New Yorker who married a mining engineer and move west with him in 1876. For a time, they lived and worked at New Almaden. In his Pulitzer-Prize-winning novel, *Angle of Repose* (1971), Wallace Stegner used Foote as the basis for his fictional character, Susan Burling Ward.

In her 1878 article, Foote left a vivid portrait of the lives of the workers, as well as the grand scale of the mining operation there: "If one possessed an ear-trumpet. . . , by laying it on almost any spot of these steeply mounting hills and winding trails, one might hear the ringing of hammer and drill against the rock, the rumbling of cars through cavernous drifts, the dull thunder of blasts, even the voices of men burrowing in the heart of the mountain. One can walk, in the passages only of this underground world, for twenty-seven miles without treading the same path twice. Only those familiar with its blind ways from childhood may venture below in safety without a guide, for besides the danger of being lost, is that of wandering into some disused 'labor,' where the rotten timbers threaten a 'cave.' Within the last year, I am told, a part of 'Mine Hill' has settled three inches, and everywhere above the 'old workings' great cracks and holes show how the shell is constantly sinking. If this burrowing process goes on with the same vigor as during the last thirty years, the mountain will someday be nothing but a hollow crust,—a huge nut-shell, emptied of its kernel. Acres of its surface now cover nothing but emptiness,—caverns, hundreds of feet in length and breadth, connected by winding passages hewn out of the rock, and propped by a net-work of timbers."

the 1880s amounted to 45.3 percent of output, but lower exports during this decade were due to the dramatic loss of exports after 1883. Exports in the period 1880–83 were 61.9 percent, but fell to half that rate thereafter.

Before 1870, exports always exceeded domestic shipments, often by a wide margin, except in 1859, when New Almaden was closed by court injunction.

For the entire 1852–90 period, domestic consumption exceeded exports in only twelve years (1859 excluded). All of these years were in the period 1870–74 or after 1883.

New York "exports" are shown in Table 7. As noted above, shipments to New York were usually included in export statistics, and thus those figures had to be removed where possible (see Appendix).

New York shipments for years where data are available amounted to 68,648 flasks. This exceeded shipments to South America and all countries except China and Mexico. If New York exports are added to true exports, the percent of California quicksilver "exported" out of the western United States during 1852-90 rises to 61.6 percent.²⁹ This leaves less than forty percent of output available for use in California and Nevada.

These export figures confirm many of the export observations discussed above. Actually, Downer's 1854 figure of exports amounting to "seven-ninths" (i.e., about 78 percent) of production was very close to the mark. On the other hand, the marked reduction of the share of output going to exports in the 1870-74 period does not support Schneider's claim

of "sizable" orders from the Comstock after 1873. "Sizable" is a relative term, and California quicksilver output did increase dramatically after 1875. Shipments to the Comstock may have seemed "sizable," but exports certainly remained greater. After 1875, exports greatly exceeded domestic shipments until the collapse of the export market in 1884.

The dramatic reduction in overseas shipment that occurred in 1884 followed record California production in the 1870s. This output effectively broke the price discipline of the Rothschild cartel and led to intense competition, especially for the China market.³⁰ Tables 4 and 5 show the steep drop in California sales to China in 1884, as the Rothschild cartel cut prices and captured the market. California producers lost the China market in 1884 and never recovered it, beginning a long period of distress for California quicksilver producers.

Splitter's observation about the Comstock being a "good customer" in the 1880s probably refers to the increased importance the domestic market took on after the collapse of exports in 1884. Likewise, Brown's comments about world demand becoming the primary determinant of quicksilver prices and profitability after 1884 can only be understood in reference to the loss of the China market and the secular decline that followed. Certainly, international markets had been more significant before 1884.

Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the destination of California quicksilver exports. For the years where data is available, China was the largest market, taking 43.4 percent of California exports. Mexico took 37.1 percent and South America 11.0 percent. Exports to all other countries were insignificant. China and Mexico combined accounted for more than eighty percent of California exports, and it is clear that California quicksilver exports were overwhelmingly destined for Pacific rim countries. Over ninety-five percent of exports went to Pacific markets. Again, Downer seems to have been remarkably accurate in 1854, when she identified the importance of the Chinese and Mexican markets.

Shipments to South America also fell after 1883, and only shipments to Mexico fared well after that year. The Mexican market became increasingly important. We cannot tell from this data if Schneider was correct when he said that New Almaden

Table 7: California Quicksilver "Exports" To New York in 76.5-pound flasks)

Year	Exports	Year	Exports
1859	250	1876	3,094
1860	400	1877	n/a
1861	600	1878	n/a
1862	2,265	1879	n/a
1863	95	1880	n/a
1864	1,695	1881	n/a
1865	6,800	1882	n/a
1866	n/a	1883	3,100
1867	2,900	1884	8,350
1868	4,500	1885	9,055
1869	1,500	1886	600
1870	1,000	1887	8,370
1871	800	1888	2,320
1872	1,202	1889	7,030
1873	---	1890	2,120
1874	315		
1875	287		

Total New York shipment for years where data is available: 68,648 flasks.

Source: See Appendix.

Table 4: California Quicksilver Exports to Selected Pacific Countries (in 76.5-pound flasks)

Year	Total Exports	China	Mexico	South America	Total Pacific Exports
1852-58		Not Available			
1859	3,149	1,068	103	1,634	3,149
1860	9,048	2,725	3,886	1,920	9,048
1861	35,395	13,788	12,061	5,030	32,895
1862	31,482	8,725	14,778	5,649	29,982
1863	25,919	8,889	11,590	4,036	24,857
1864	35,223	18,908	7,483	7,049	33,614
1865	34,050	14,250	2,650	7,750	23,650
1866	30,287	Not Available			
1867	25,953	10,011	10,042	3,800	24,453
1868	40,006	17,785	14,120	2,500	36,005
1869	22,915	11,600	8,060	2,900	22,864
1870	12,788	4,050	7,088	1,300	12,747
1871	14,405	7,900	3,081	2,200	14,287
1872	11,896	4,810	5,038	1,300	11,793
1873	6,359	1,900	3,761	508	6,285
1874	6,455	1,200	4,104	884	6,455
1875	28,673	18,190	5,757	2,183	28,563
1876	38,046	24,526	7,400	3,804	37,396
1877	50,906	Not Available			
1878	33,365	Not Available			
1879	47,383	Not Available			
1880	37,210	19,660	12,413	1,364	35,084
1881	35,107	17,031	15,256	1,171	35,107
1882	33,875	18,965	10,128	2,287	33,848
1883	30,072	16,356	10,157	1,452	30,054
1884	10,874	220	9,330	451	10,815
1885	10,302	233	9,277	361	10,288
1886	6,091	---	5,678	248	6,084
1887	11,394	3,323	6,920	212	10,593
1888	10,684	3,750	5,172	1,388	10,683
1889	5,930	---	5,660	111	5,922
1890	3,425	300	2,890	102	3,419
Total	576,726	250,163	213,883	63,594	549,940

Data Unavailable 1852-58; 1866; and 1877-79.
Exports to Australia, Japan, and Canada are not shown.

Source: See Appendix.

Table 5: Exports of California Quicksilver to Pacific Countries (as a percentage of annual exports)

Year	China	Mexico	South America	Australia	Japan	Canada	Total Pacific
1859	33.9%	3.3%	51.9%	10.3%	---	*	100.0%
1860	30.1	42.9	21.2	1.1	---	3.6	100.0
1861	39.0	34.1	14.2	5.2	*	*	92.3
1862	27.7	46.9	17.9	2.5	*	*	95.2
1863	34.3	44.7	15.6	1.2	-	*	95.9
1864	53.7	21.2	20.0	*	*	*	95.4
1865	41.9	7.8	22.2	*	---	---	69.5
1866	Unavailable						
1867	38.6	38.7	14.6	1.2	---	*	94.2
1868	44.5	35.3	6.2	3.9	---	*	90.0
1869	50.6	35.2	12.7	1.3	---	*	99.8
1870	31.7	55.4	10.2	2.3	---	*	99.7
1871	54.8	21.4	15.3	7.6	---	*	99.2
1872	40.4	42.4	10.9	5.4	---	*	99.1
1873	29.9	59.1	8.0	1.7	---	*	98.8
1874	18.6	63.6	11.4	1.5	---	*	100.0
1875	63.4	20.1	7.5	2.9	3.4	*	99.6
1876	64.5	19.5	10.0	2.1	1.1	*	98.3
1877	Unavailable						
1878	Unavailable						
1879	Unavailable						
1880	52.8	33.4	3.7	4.1	*	*	94.3
1881	48.5	43.5	3.3	3.8	*	*	100.0
1882	56.0	29.9	6.8	5.4	1.8	*	99.9
1883	54.4	33.8	4.8	2.6	4.3	*	99.9
1884	2.0	85.8	4.1	1.2	6.2	*	99.5
1885	2.3	90.1	3.5	*	2.9	*	99.9
1886	---	93.2	4.1	1.5	*	*	99.9
1887	29.2	60.7	1.9	*	---	*	93.0
1888	35.1	48.4	13.0	3.0	*	*	100.0
1889	---	95.4	1.8	2.2	---	*	99.9
1890	8.8	84.4	3.0	3.7	---	*	99.8
Total	43.4%	37.1%	11.0%				95.4%

* = Less than 1 percent

--- = No exports

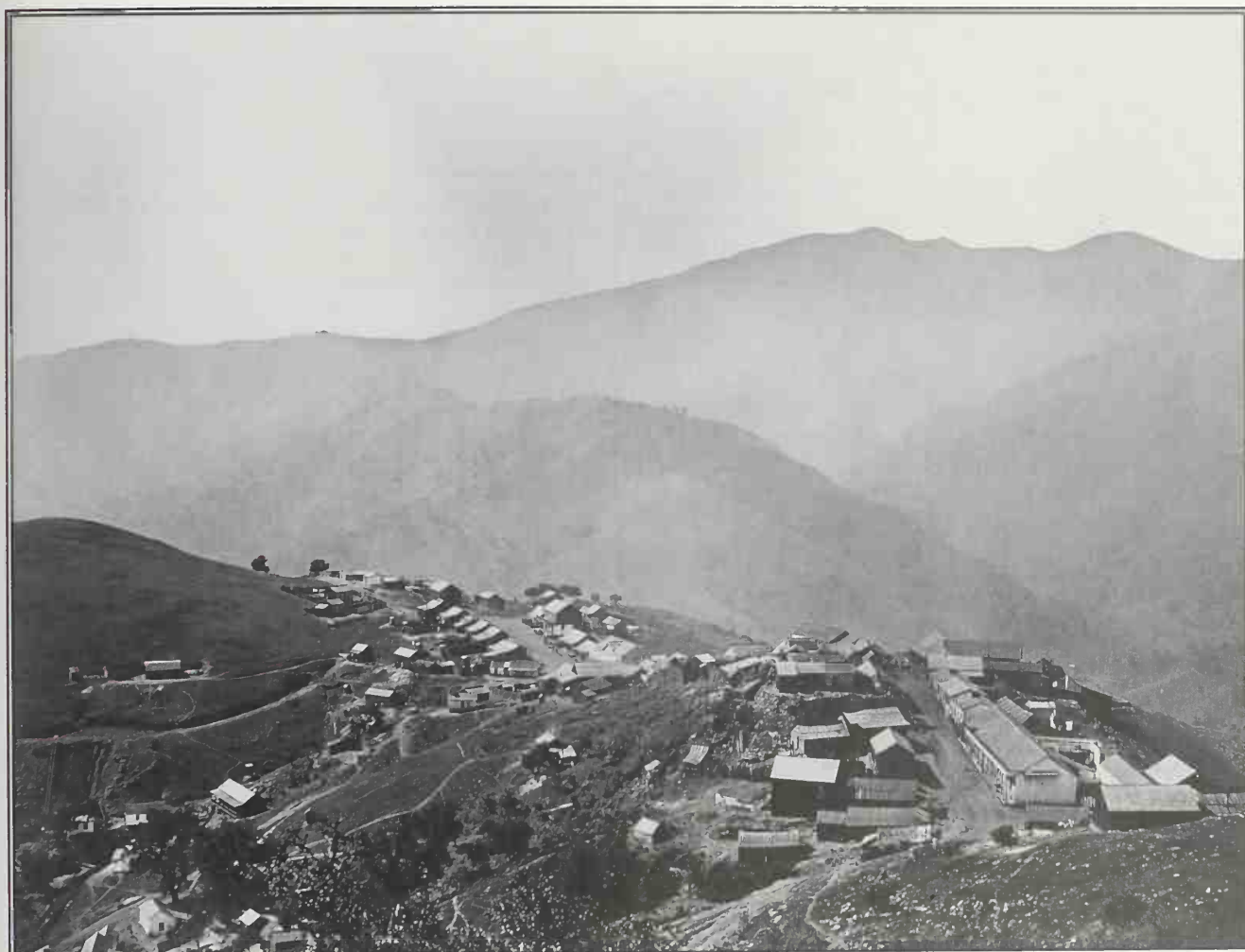
Data is unavailable for 1852-58; 1866; and 1877-79.

Source: Derived from data in Table 4.

freely supplied all of the Hispanic-American market, but it is clear that Mexico and South America were important markets for California quicksilver.

Shipments of California quicksilver to China and New York have something in common—both markets primarily supplied vermilion producers rather than precious metal refining.³¹ The pigment vermilion is a manufactured mercury sulfide, consisting of about 86 percent mercury. American vermilion producers (all located on the East Coast) consumed 14,102 flasks of quicksilver in 1883 and 1884. Cali-

fornia quicksilver shipments to New York in 1883 and 1884 totaled 11,450 flasks, or 81.2 percent of the quicksilver used in producing vermilion in those years. American vermilion producers used both California and Rothschild quicksilver, however, depending on price, and California shipments to New York were volatile. Vermilion demand has not hitherto been emphasized in histories of New Almaden, but the size of China and New York shipments suggests that it was an important factor in the development of the California quicksilver industry.



"Town on the Hill," New Almaden quicksilver mine, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. The many miners and their families who worked at New Almaden lived in several communities, some quite remote from the mine itself. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Preliminary Findings on the Impact of California Quicksilver on California Gold and Nevada Silver

California quicksilver greatly influenced the production of precious metals in the western United States. Gold could be recovered from the early gold placers without quicksilver, but quicksilver increased the efficiency of recovery and was indispensable after the richer deposits were depleted. Recovery from hydraulic and hard-rock gold mining was very difficult and impractical without quicksilver. Amalgamation with mercury was virtually the only viable technique available in gold recovery until the invention of the cyanide process in the 1890s. Silver min-

ing was even more impractical without quicksilver. Consequently, development of the Comstock Lode and other silver discoveries in the western United States would have been difficult, if not impossible, without quicksilver. By supplying Nevada silver mines, California quicksilver mines augmented gold and silver production.

Measuring the magnitude of this impact is difficult and clearly counterfactual. California was not the only producer of quicksilver, and it is likely that, in the absence of local production, Rothschild quicksilver would have been imported. But production

at Almaden and Idria would have had to double to replace California quicksilver, and it is not known if this was possible or how long it would have taken to accomplish. Delays in acquiring quicksilver, very likely, would have been unavoidable, but at least some Rothschild quicksilver would have been available.

The more interesting counterfactual question, then, is how much Rothschild quicksilver would have cost in the absence of California production. The Rothschilds had gone to great lengths to acquire what they had thought was a virtual monopoly on world quicksilver output. It is inconceivable that the California Gold Rush and Comstock mining would not have driven prices much higher, but how much higher is speculation at this point.

It is clear, however, that California quicksilver production prevented high price increases and actually lowered quicksilver prices. Average annual quicksilver prices in San Francisco are shown in Table 6. When the Junta de Formento put a bounty on quicksilver in the 1840s, quicksilver was selling for \$150 per flask. California quicksilver sold at an average price of \$99.45 per flask in 1850, with prices reaching as high as \$114.75 that year. With full production at New Almaden, prices immediately dropped, and the average price in 1858 was less than half the 1850 level. In the 1860s, prices dipped as low as \$34.45 per flask. With lower prices, California gold miners were soon improving their yields by adding quicksilver to their pans, rockers, and toms. In the 1870s, Nevada Washoe mills were using California quicksilver that sold for as low as \$25.25 per flask.

Measuring the impact of these lower quicksilver prices on gold or silver output in California and Nevada is beyond the scope of this paper. However, some observations about the nature of quicksilver costs in the recovery process can be made. First, a capital cost was incurred in acquiring the quicksilver to charge the Washoe vats. About 300 to 500 pounds of quicksilver were needed to process 3,000 pounds of ore (a one-to-ten ratio seems to have been most common).³² Second, although the quicksilver was recovered, part of it was lost. Losses with the Patio Process are usually put at 1.5 pounds per pound of silver produced. The Washoe process was more efficient, and losses averaged about 1.5 pounds of quicksilver lost

Table 6: Average San Francisco Quicksilver Prices (dollars per 76.5-pound flask)

Year	Price	Year	Price
1850	\$99.45	1871	\$63.10
1851	66.93	1872	65.93
1852	58.33	1873	80.33
1853	55.45	1874	105.18
1854	55.45	1875	84.15
1855	53.55	1876	44.00
1856	51.65	1877	37.30
1857	48.73	1878	32.90
1858	47.83	1879	29.85
1859	63.13	1880	31.00
1860	53.55	1881	29.83
1861	42.05	1882	28.23
1862	36.35	1883	28.75
1863	42.08	1884	30.50
1864	45.90	1885	30.75
1865	45.90	1886	35.50
1866	53.13	1887	42.38
1867	45.90	1888	42.50
1868	45.90	1889	45.00
1869	45.90	1890	52.50
1870	57.38		

Source: California State Mining Bureau, *California Mineral Production for 1916*, Bulletin No. 74. (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1917), 47.

per ton of ore processed. Losses could be greater for richer ores. In the long term, quicksilver losses could be substantial. Grant Smith estimates that, by 1943, 14 million pounds of quicksilver had been lost at the Comstock Lode.³³ The cost of this lost quicksilver had to be incorporated into milling prices and thus affected the cost of silver mining in Nevada.

While one writer has characterized the cost of quicksilver losses as "very trifling," most writers have expressed the opposite view.³⁴ Grant Smith calls the mercury losses at the Comstock "startling" and "enormous."³⁵ Discussing Spanish colonial min-

"A Girl of the Mexican Camp," by Mary Hallock Foote, from her article, "A California Mining Camp," *Scribner's Monthly* (February 1878). With very high percentages of its population being composed of foreign-born immigrants and their children (much more than fifty percent in some regions), early California was truly a society composed of many cultures. The international nature of the working force of New Almaden, particularly its large Mexican immigrant community, was captured by Foote's record of the camp: "A ball was given by the Mexicans upon the anniversary of their independence. We went up to see the dancing, which was very beautiful. The Mexican girls have exquisite forms, especially when in motion; their dancing was like inspiration. There were people of every nationality—stout, blonde Cornish youths side by side with slim, swarthy Mexicans. There were Ignacio Enestraro, a 'Chiliano,' and the sisters of Castro (the silversmith), half Mexican and half Chinese. A young Spaniard delivered the 'oration.' I saw the son of the German foreman at the Hacienda dancing with the daughter of a French butcher. The music was very good for the purpose,—a violoncello, two violins, one brass piece, and a flute. They played the Mexican national anthem to open the ball, and much of the 'dance music' had pretty Mexican or Spanish names."



ing. Brading and Cross argue that "failure to produce sufficient mercury could have catastrophic effects upon local silver mines. At the same time, changes in mercury price could easily alter the curve of silver production."³⁶ While difficult to quantify, dra-

matically higher quicksilver prices in the absence of California output would certainly have reduced mining profits and lowered gold and silver output in California and Nevada and in mining regions around the world.

Conclusions—Was There a Pacific Rim Economy?

This paper has sought to show that the development of California quicksilver in the second half of the nineteenth century occurred in response not only to western regional mining, but also to the demand for quicksilver in the overall Pacific rim economy. The California Gold Rush and Comstock silver were important factors, but the prospect of exports to Mexico provided the impetus for the initial development of New Almaden, and, at least until 1884, Pacific exports exceeded domestic shipments and were the principal stimulus to the industry. The Pacific markets have hitherto been neglected because of a lack of data on exports.

Is the notion of a "Pacific rim economy" a useful way to understand the development of the California quicksilver mines? I would conclude that it is, at least through the 1870s. California quicksilver was integrated into a Pacific rim trade from its inception, and a Pacific perspective is useful and clearly more accurate than a domestic focus.

However, the period after the 1870s illustrates the limitations that must accompany any Pacific-rim interpretation of the California quicksilver industry. The competition with the Rothschild cartel produced a dramatic turn in the export market in the 1880s. This non-Pacific factor became increasingly more important, and, thereafter, it is more accurate to speak of a world market. Consequently, one must conclude that although there is some validity to the notion of a Pacific rim economy, the concept must be used judiciously.

In a broader sense, the story of California quicksilver suggests that a self-contained view of the pioneer California economy ignores many important international connections. International markets were important even before the American conquest in 1846. California quicksilver was produced with capital and entrepreneurship from Mexico and the United States, labor from the United States, Mexico, England, China, and Chile, equipment from England, and coal from California and Australia. Output flowed into the Pacific economy, and Pacific regions in turn sent raw materials and foodstuffs to California. Our understanding of the early California economy will grow as these international connections are better documented and appreciated.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 336.

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APPENDIX

The Compilation of Export Data

Annual California quicksilver exports and the distribution of those exports were compiled from the following sources:

1. No data was available on exports for the years 1850 and 1851. It is unclear if there were no exports in these years or if data is unavailable. Consequently, exports for these two years were not measured.

2. Exports for 1852–1871 are found in Rossiter W. Raymond, *U.S. Treasury Department, Statistics of Mines and Mining in the Western States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1873), 523. The same figures, along with data for 1872 and 1873, are presented in John J. Powell, *The Golden State and Its Resources* (San Francisco: Bacon and Co., 1874), 81–82. Exports by destination are found in these two sources for the years 1868–73.

Exports by destination for the years 1859–64 are found in J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor, *Reports Upon The Mineral Resources of The United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), 176.

Destination of exports for 1865 are found in Donald C. Brown, "The New Almaden Quicksilver Mines, 1824–1890" (Master's thesis, San Jose State College, 1958), 65. Brown cites company annual reports.

Destination of exports for 1867 are found in Rossiter W. Raymond, *Mines, Mills, and Furnaces of the Pacific States and Territories* (New York: J.B. Ford and Co., 1871), 528.

Exports by destination for 1874 and 1875 are found in Rossiter W. Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the*

States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 461.

3. No data on the destination of exports is available for the years 1852–58 and 1866. Consequently, no figures for these years are shown in Tables 4 or 5. In addition, export figures for these years in Table 3 may contain New York "exports" and thus exaggerate true exports to the extent that New York shipments were not re-exported to Europe.

4. Exports for 1877–79 were calculated from U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1883 and 1884 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 500. Exports expressed in pounds were divided by 76.5 to yield exports in American flasks. These figures appear in Table 3, but not in Tables 4 or 5 because destination of exports could not be determined with this procedure. Consequently, New York exports may distort these figures.

5. Exports and destination of exports for 1880–90 were calculated from U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1889 and 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 100 and 108–109. Figures were derived by tabulating exports to individual countries from port records. New York "exports" were not a problem here. However, rail shipments to Mexico were added when they could be specifically identified.

6. The New York shipments shown in Table 7 were derived from the same sources discussed above in conjunction with destination of exports. However, data is not available for the years 1880–82, as well as for 1852–58, 1866, and 1877–79.



The San Francisco Ferry Building, decked out with maritime banners from countries around the world, celebrates the 1915 opening of the Panama Canal, commemorated by the city-wide Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Hub for the San Francisco area's urban transportation system, the Ferry Building, at the crossroads of streetcars and bay and river steamers, symbolized how critical transportation was in shaping the history of the city. The urban visions of all three city leaders discussed in this article—William Ralston, James Phelan, and Michael O'Shaughnessy—relied heavily on urban transportation. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

City Commercial, City Beautiful, City Practical

THE SAN FRANCISCO VISIONS OF
WILLIAM C. RALSTON, JAMES D. PHELAN,
AND MICHAEL M. O'SHAUGHNESSY

by Robert W. Cherny

During the half-century from the end of the Civil War until American entry into World War I, American cities—including San Francisco—grew at an almost dizzying pace, becoming places of excitement, danger, and disgust to many Americans, who marveled at urban energy and bustle but feared both the corrupting influences that seemed to thrive in cities and the growing gap between urban rich and poor. In 1870, no American city had a million people, and only seven had more than 250,000; San Francisco counted fewer than 150,000 but nonetheless stood tenth in size among the cities of the nation. By 1920, three cities topped the million mark and twenty-five claimed more than 250,000 people. San Francisco had more than tripled in size since 1870, to more than 500,000 people, but fell to twelfth rank among the nation's largest cities.

Increases in population brought both vertical and horizontal expansion. Until the late nineteenth century, American cities were geographically compact. Most residents got around by walking; only a wealthy few could afford carriages. Buildings were relatively low—three stories was unusual—and

most were unspecialized. The first skyscraper—ten stories high—appeared in 1885, in Chicago. Once architects realized the potential of steel-frame construction, tall buildings transformed most city skylines. San Francisco quickly followed the lead of the Windy City; the Chronicle Building, designed by Chicago skyscraper architects Burnham and Root, dates to 1889.¹

Steel-frame buildings allowed cities to grow upward, and new forms of transportation allowed them to expand outward. In San Francisco during the 1850s, horses pulled the first streetcars. In 1873, Andrew Hallidie used a moving underground cable to pull a streetcar up Clay Street hill. His innovation swept the nation; twenty cities acquired cable-car systems over the next twenty years. The electric streetcar appeared first in Richmond, Virginia, in 1888, and—in San Francisco as elsewhere—electric streetcars rapidly replaced cable-driven lines on all but the steepest hills. Commuter railroad and ferry lines also expanded, connecting suburbs to urban centers.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, growth was a constant in the experience



William Chapman Ralston (1826–1875). Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.

of most cities, including San Francisco. At the time, only a few people asked how the growth should be directed, or by whom, or for what end. Among those few, William Chapman Ralston, James Duval Phelan, and Michael M. O'Shaughnessy stand forth as three dominant figures—even *the* three dominant figures—for the city's physical development during the years from the end of the Civil War to the Great Depression.

In 1888, James Bryce published his classic account of American politics, *The American Commonwealth*. In it, he noted that "California, more than any other part of the Union, is a country by itself, and San Francisco a capital." San Francisco was, he continued, a "source of influence for the surrounding regions, more powerful over them than is any Eastern city" over its hinterland, because San Francisco stood alone as the "commercial and intellectual cen-

tre" of the state and, indeed, of the western part of the nation.²

What Bryce described in 1888—San Francisco as the economic capital of the West—had been the vision of a generation of San Francisco business leaders since the days of the Gold Rush. No one did more to nurture that vision and to bring it to maturity than William Chapman Ralston, financier and entrepreneur, who dominated the city's economy from the mid-1860s until his death in 1875. He intended his business decisions to determine the direction of the city's growth, and he succeeded to an impressive degree. One biographer called him "the man who built San Francisco," and David Lavender entitled his study of Ralston *Nothing Seemed Impossible*.³

Born in Ohio in 1826, a Presbyterian of Scots-Irish descent, Ralston first worked on the steamboats of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, then as a shipping agent in Panama. Arriving in San Francisco in 1854, Ralston expanded his interests and, in 1860, became treasurer of the Ophir Mining Company, one of the most promising of the mines then beginning to tap Nevada's Comstock Lode. The same year, he became partner in a bank. During the Civil War, he extended his interests in Nevada silver and profited from currency speculation. In 1864, abandoning his first banking partners, he brought together some of the state's leading businessmen to create the Bank of California. In partnership with William Sharon, he soon acquired a near monopoly on the silver of the Comstock.⁴

As the Comstock poured its riches into the vaults of his Bank of California, Ralston invested this capital in such a way as to foster the economic empire that he and others had envisioned. A self-made man who spent most of his time on his business affairs, Ralston sought to make San Francisco a manufacturing center, investing in woolen mills, a sugar refinery, iron foundries, a gas works, a huge dry dock at Hunter's Point, and factories to produce watches, carriages, locks, and furniture; he also funded railroads and steamship lines to connect the city to the interior and the world. His vision and investments ranged across the state and the region, including not only Nevada silver mining, but also hydraulic gold mining, commercial winemaking, wheat growing on a massive scale in the San Joaquin Valley, and unsuccessful efforts to monopolize the taking of seal pelts in Alaska. He recognized the significance of San Francisco's position on the Pacific Rim and worked to expand trade with China and Japan.



The original Palace Hotel, ca. 1879, with its various street-level shops, remains the principal legacy of San Francisco developer William Ralston, who died shortly before its grand opening. The world-class hotel, destroyed in the 1906 earthquake, was rebuilt and has changed ownership several times during this century. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*

When Ralston had arrived in San Francisco in 1854, the "instant city" created by the Gold Rush was centered around Portsmouth Square. By his investment decisions, Ralston changed the physical configuration of the city. In 1866, he announced that the Bank of California—the leading bank in the West—would relocate to a new building at the corner of California and Sansome streets. By this decision, he established the center of the financial district, pulling other financial and commercial firms toward his bank, and toward the South-of-Market area, where he had invested heavily.

Relocating the financial district was only a beginning. Ralston hoped to shift the rapidly emerging central business district farther southward, toward his holdings. He proposed to extend Montgomery Street straight south, creating a boulevard that would cut diagonally across the blocks south of Market Street until it reached the area near his Hunter's

Point Dry Dock. Such a boulevard, Ralston thought, would reorder the entire city, pulling financial and retail firms south of Market Street and providing a convenient connecting link between the commercial and financial district and the industrial areas he envisioned along the bay.

When lawsuits and political opposition blocked construction of Montgomery South, Ralston refocused and set about to create New Montgomery Street, parallel to the other South-of-Market streets rather than diagonal, but nonetheless intended to extend from Montgomery to the bay. The end result was shorter than originally envisioned, but Ralston still hoped to pull the city's central business district southward. Toward that end, in 1872, he chose the junction of New Montgomery and Market as the site for the world's most luxurious hotel—the Palace Hotel—constructed between 1873 and 1875 and modeled on the most prominent hotels of Europe

and America. Although towering seven stories over its surroundings, it never accomplished Ralston's major purpose of shifting the business district further southward. The Palace opened its doors for business in October 1875, two months after the death of Ralston at the age of forty-nine.⁵

Ralston's vision was of the city commercial, of San Francisco as economic capital of the state and region, a vision driven by growth and dominated by the need to show a profit. An enthusiastic booster, he is quoted as saying, "Anything that is calculated to promote the interests of this coast is the thing that I am working for, and I will use all the powers at my command to accomplish this." Generous in his personal contributions to charities, he saw his investments too as contributing to the public good.

David Lavender, Ralston's most recent biographer, has ascribed to Ralston and his city an adolescent quality: naive, optimistic, ambitious, and flamboyant.⁶ While Ralston's vision was sometimes imaginative and bold, it was usually one dimensional—the economic dimension; for him, even the promotion of culture meant building a theater that would book the finest performers and also show a profit. One of his business associates described his vision as to make the city "great, prosperous, progressive, conspicuous throughout the world for enterprise and big things." Ralston's execution of this vision, however, was piecemeal, driven by the opportunities of the marketplace—a factory here, a dry dock there, a hotel somewhere else. While he once claimed that "what is for the good of the masses will in the end be of equal benefit to the Bankers,"⁷ he usually acted on the premise that what was good for his own ventures was good for the city. He saw city and state government largely as obstacles to the free operation of the market, as hindrances to such plans as the creation of Montgomery South, and he spent lavishly to persuade elected officials to give him free rein. While some of his most ambitious schemes foundered or came up short, he nonetheless bequeathed to the city a bold vision of San Francisco as a center of finance, commerce, and industry, the seat of a mighty economic empire that embraced the West and the Pacific.

James Duval Phelan accepted the vision of San Francisco as economic capital, but added social, political, and cultural dimensions reflecting in part the cultural and political changes taking place in the city and nationwide during the generation



James Duval Phelan (1861–1930).
Courtesy Montalvo Association.

after Ralston's death.⁸ Born in San Francisco in 1861, he grew up Catholic, studied at St. Ignatius College (now the University of San Francisco), and traveled extensively in Europe as a child and young man. His Irish-born father left him a fortune, but Phelan took little interest in what he once called "the sordid meshes of business and trade."⁹ He saw himself instead as a political leader and patron of the arts. Aloof, cultured, and aristocratic, he served as mayor from 1897 to 1901, as one of California's United States senators from 1915 to 1921, and as the leader of the state's Democratic party from the late 1890s through the 1920s.

Where Ralston's vision for the city emerged most clearly in the pattern of his investments and his busi-



Daniel H. Burnham, ca. 1910. The disaster San Francisco suffered in 1906 made it impossible to carry out the Burnham Plan of 1905 as it was conceived, yet Burnham's visions of a citywide park system, streets that followed the natural contours of the city's hills, and restrictions on building height in order to preserve views were some aspects of his original plan that were incorporated later in the twentieth century as the city redeveloped and expanded in certain areas. *From Report on A Plan for San Francisco*, by Daniel H. Burnham, *Sunset Press*, 1905, reprinted 1971, *Urban Books*.

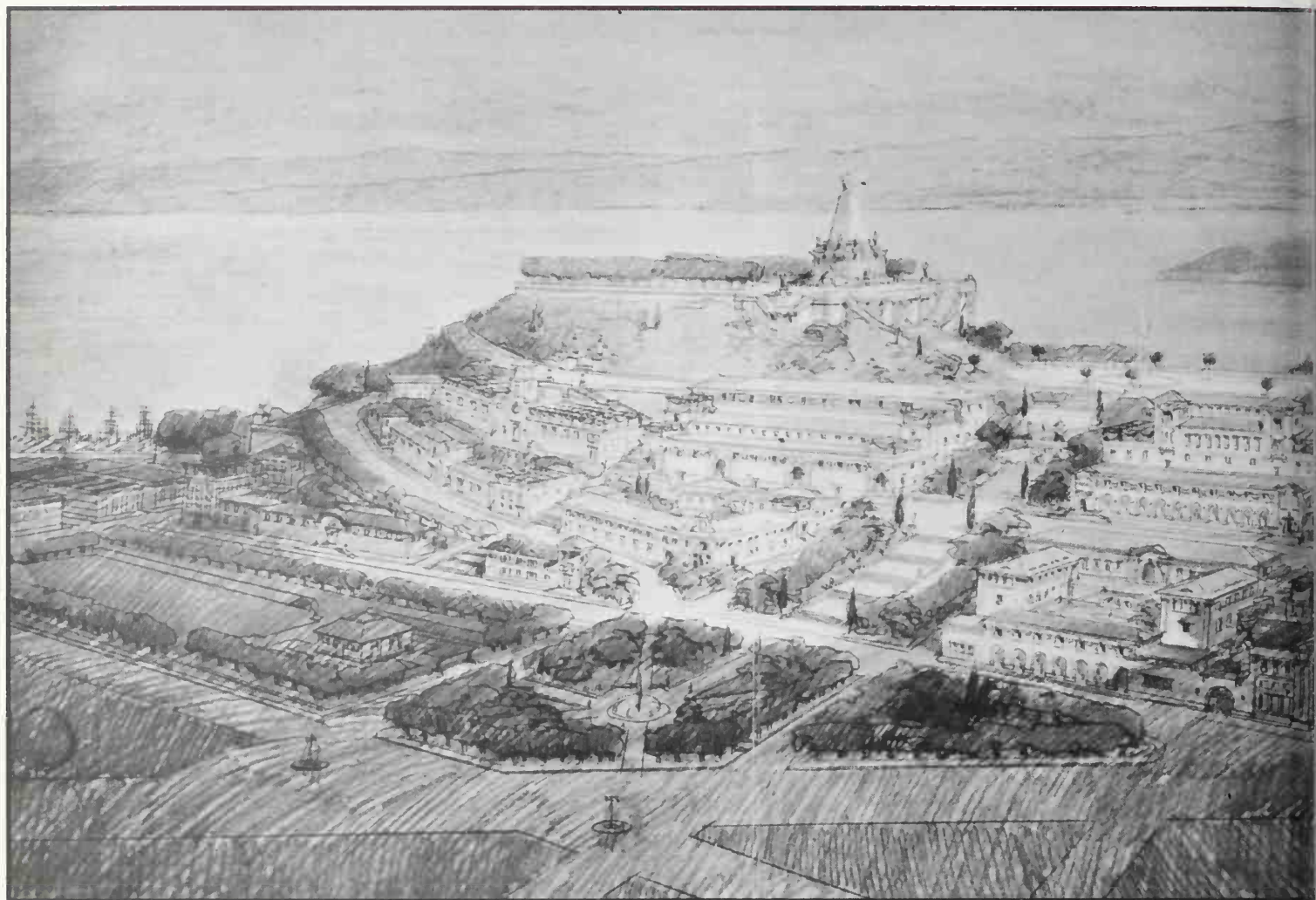
ness proposals, Phelan's vision derived in significant part from his readings in the classics and his travels abroad. Paris, Rome, and Athens, especially, figured prominently in his speeches—he loved to make speeches—by which he defined much of his vision. His vision was a complex one, including the built environment, city government, and social patterns.

Perhaps the best known aspect of Phelan's vision of the city was his commitment to beautification. He stands among the leading proponents of the City Beautiful, that turn-of-the-century movement com-

mitted to making cities more attractive places to live. Inspired by the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the City Beautiful movement emphasized classical, monumental architecture and a harmonious, symmetrical relationship among buildings. Phelan adorned the city by contributing for decorative fountains, monuments, and statues, and by encouraging others to do the same. He never tired of promoting a plan to extend the Golden Gate Park Panhandle to the intersection of Van Ness and Market streets. But, for Phelan, such individual efforts needed an overall design to be most effective. Toward that end, he took the lead in securing the famous Burnham Plan of 1905.

Daniel Burnham, the most prominent city planner of the day, made his first reputation with the development of the Chicago skyscraper, then forged an even greater reputation as the overall coordinator for the Columbian Exposition. After the exposition, he specialized in city plans, notably Washington, D.C., in 1902, the Cleveland Civic Center in 1903, and Manila in 1905. His plan for San Francisco has been treated at length elsewhere, but a few elements require comment. First, it was, by Burnham's own admission, primarily a plan for streets and parks. "A city must ever deal mainly with the direction and width of its streets,"¹⁰ he said, and his plan for San Francisco revealed an infatuation with redrawing streets and creating new diagonals and circular intersections, with the basic patterns borrowed from Pierre L'Enfant's plan for Washington, which Burnham had refurbished shortly before, and from Paris.¹¹ Parks held almost equal importance; he envisioned a San Francisco in which fully one-third of the entire land area would be parks. At the center of Burnham's vision was a monumental Civic Center, to include the existing City Hall and Post Office, and a new Union Station and opera house.

Burnham's plan gave extensive treatment to streets, parks, and views, but other elements were either missing entirely or mentioned only in passing. He planned parks on the assumption that San Francisco would eventually have two million residents, but said little about planning housing. "The residential districts," he noted cavalierly, "develop as necessity demands."¹² His only attention to the quality of housing focused on appearances; he suggested planting trees and vines to cover up what he considered "dreary stretches of inharmonious architecture" and "incongruities of facade"—apparently a reference to San Francisco's then-old-fashioned,



Telegraph Hill, looking east, as depicted in the Burnham Plan, 1905. Burnham imagined the hill with classical architecture, terraced approaches, a wide pedestrian parkway connecting the hill with Washington Square and, at the top, an enlarged park and a "monument symbolical of some phase of the city's life." Telegraph Hill developed differently from Burnham's proposal, although Coit Tower, built in 1933 as a tribute to the city's firemen, became the monument at the top. *From Report on A Plan for San Francisco, by Daniel H. Burnham, Sunset Press, 1905, reprinted 1971, Urban Books.*

but now-esteemed, Victorians.¹³ He devoted less than two pages to the economic life of the city, limiting himself to summarizing existing patterns and likely extensions of them, but presented no real planning for the city's economic future.¹⁴ All in all, his master plan was not economically feasible, not practical, not even very original. Monumental in its assumptions and objectives, however, it may be best understood as a lesson in both beauty and order.¹⁵

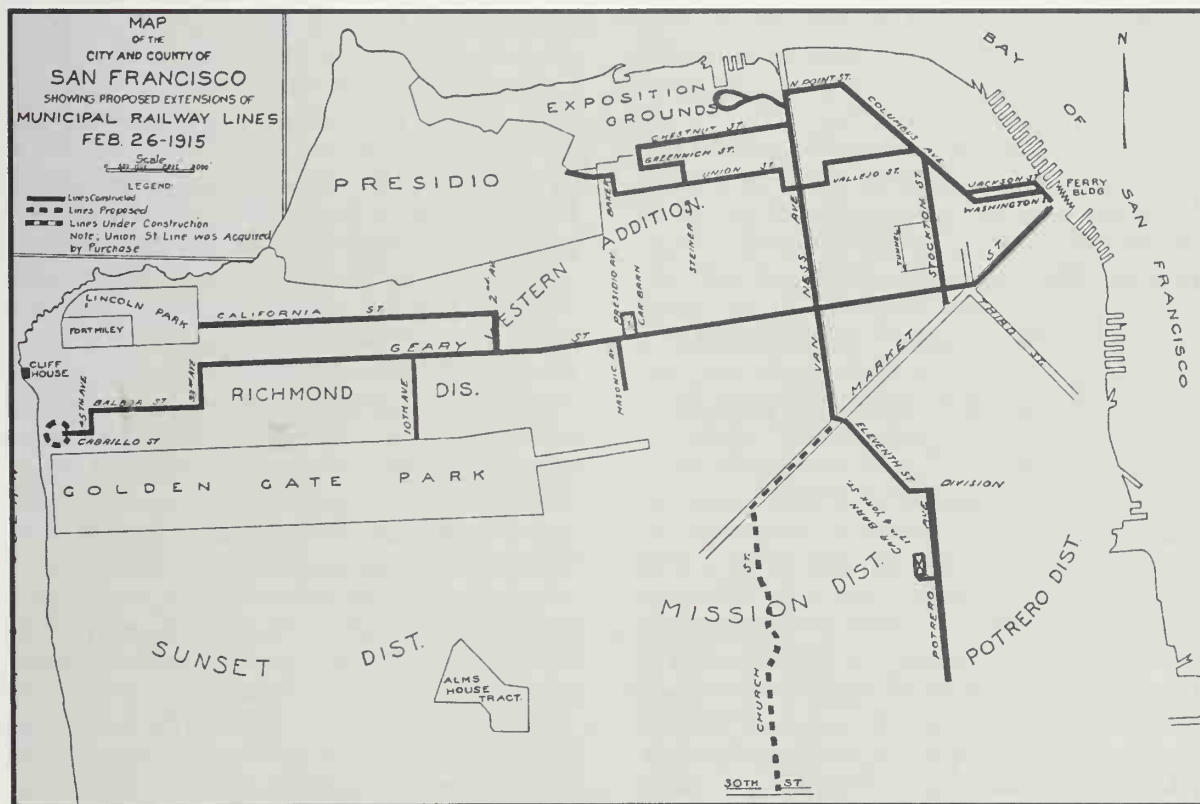
While James Phelan bears major responsibility for

bringing Burnham to San Francisco, his own vision of the city was more complex than the Burnham Plan. As president or director of several banking and insurance companies and owner of extensive city real estate, he was well aware of the economic life of the city. He shared the vision of San Francisco as economic capital of a Pacific empire and once called San Francisco "the handmaid of commerce between the western shores of the United States and the lands facing the great Pacific . . . the capital of an empire."¹⁶

But Phelan saw the city as much more than an economic marketplace. Phelan believed that the city could only be great if, like Paris under Haussman, it used its wealth to "develop the fine and useful arts and sciences to an unparalleled degree." To Phelan, greatness also required that a city be "clean . . . and healthful; [and] that its children be properly instructed."¹⁷

Phelan's vision of the city, unlike that of Burnham or Ralston, gave close attention to what today would be called the infrastructure. As mayor, he promoted bond issues for a new sewer system, city hospital, parks, and schools.¹⁸ The people, he thought, deserved efficient and effective public utilities—water, gas, electricity, and transportation—and, reflecting the emergence of municipal progressivism, he advocated government operation of essential utilities. He felt that the nineteenth-century pattern

of granting franchises to private corporations to provide public utility services created an inevitable conflict between the corporations' need to make a profit and the public's need to receive necessities efficiently and at the lowest cost; efforts to regulate a monopoly, he warned, only led the monopoly to corrupt the political process. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century had presented repeated examples of the corruption of city politics by utility corporations anxious to secure or protect their franchises; in one of Phelan's earliest speeches, in 1889, he drew attention to the dangers of monopolistic utility companies. For Phelan, the answer was obvious: the city should own all these utilities, thereby—he thought—reducing costs and eliminating corruption. Toward the end of his career, in 1922, he proclaimed that "I am now, and always have been, in favor of the public ownership of such util-



This 1915 map of San Francisco's municipal railway lines and proposed extensions shows the terminus at the Ferry Building, as well as new routes that were completed specifically to handle crowds visiting the PPIE. Courtesy City of San Francisco.

ities."¹⁹ As a result in major part of his efforts, Article XII of the new city charter that took effect in 1900 pledged that "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the City and County that its public utilities shall be gradually and ultimately owned by the City and County."

Throughout his career, Phelan worked to realize the intent of Article XII, both as public official and private citizen. In July 1901, as a private citizen, he applied for the right to use the Hetch Hetchy Valley as a reservoir to prevent it from falling into the hands of speculators, transferred his claim to the city in February 1903, and played an important role in bringing the Hetch Hetchy project to reality. He continually advocated that the city should directly sell San Francisco citizens not only water (by buying out the privately owned water company) but also electrical power (by buying out the holdings of PG&E within the city). Similarly, when the city was slow to undertake creation of a city-owned streetcar system, Phelan, in 1906, as a private citizen, incorporated the Municipal Street Railways of San Francisco to acquire existing streetcar franchises when they became available and later to transfer them to the city.²⁰

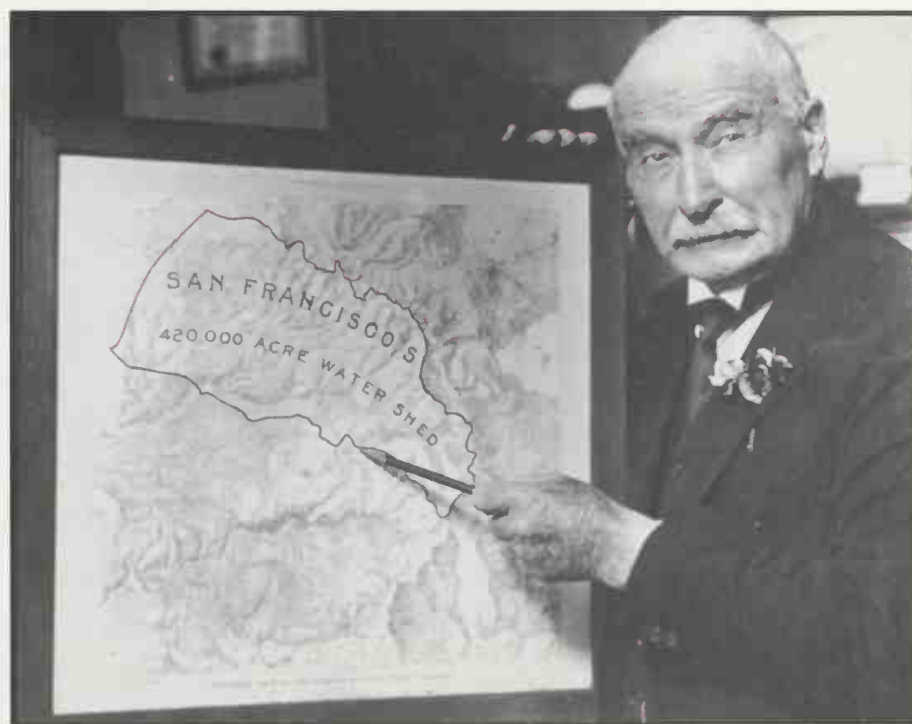
Phelan's vision of the city, it must be noted, contained clearly elitist elements. Pericles's beautification of Athens—one of the models for his own vision—had been intended, Phelan claimed, to "render the citizens cheerful, content, yielding, self-sacrificing, capable of enthusiasm."²¹ Along with proponents of the City Beautiful, Phelan may have seen the monumental architecture of the movement as a means of refining public taste, prompting civic pride, and promoting respect for the state, especially among recent immigrants and among the working class.²² Daniel Burnham's justification for formal and symmetrical tree-planting reveals such a concern: "this amounts to a lesson of order and system, and its influence on the masses cannot be overestimated."²³ In seeking election, Phelan solicited the votes of workers, but in choosing a Committee of 100 to make charter revision recommendations, Phelan appointed only four working-class representatives. The charter reforms he supported included strengthening the mayoral powers and instituting at-large elections of supervisors, which potentially reduced working-class representation.²⁴ During the years from 1901 to 1911, he consistently opposed the Union Labor Party, which drew its electoral strength

from workers. In all, Phelan's record suggests that he saw the political role of the working class as limited largely to electing men such as himself to govern them.

Phelan's vision of a clean, beautiful, efficient city was also a city for whites only. He considered people of color as incapable of being assimilated, culturally or physically, and therefore saw them as a threat to the cultural values he sought to promote through beautification and his patronage of the arts. He vehemently opposed immigration from Asia, and favored the segregation and disenfranchisement of peoples of color already here. He cut his political eye-teeth on anti-Chinese rhetoric²⁵ and, in 1912, wrote that "This is a white man's country. . . . We cannot make a homogeneous population out of people who do not blend with the Caucasian race."²⁶ While he declared on the floor of the U.S. Senate that African Americans were "a non-assimilable body, a foreign substance,"²⁷ his major antagonism was reserved for immigrants from Japan, who, he argued, "will destroy American civilization as surely as Europe exterminated the American Indian."²⁸ His campaign slogan in the 1920 senatorial election was "Keep California White."²⁹

Phelan's vision of the city was a far more complex one than that of Ralston. Phelan accepted the notion of San Francisco as seat of an economic empire, but added other elements to his vision: promotion of culture and learning, a monumental approach to civic beautification, efficiently-run and municipally-owned public utilities, and a racially homogeneous society. Just as Ralston's view did not originate solely with Ralston and was widely shared among several generations of San Francisco business leaders, so too Phelan borrowed elements in his vision from others and presented a vision that was widely shared. Significant elements in it became public policy—most notably, city ownership of its water and street transportation systems and the adoption of a few elements of the Burnham Plan, such as the civic center. In the end, however, the city failed to use the Burnham Plan as a comprehensive blueprint for a "San Francisco Beautiful," even when the 1906 earthquake provided a unique opportunity to do so; hopes for municipal ownership of gas and electrical systems failed against the political prowess of PG&E; and Asian exclusion and segregation ultimately gave way to more tolerant policies and practices.

San Francisco City Engineer Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, posed in July 1928 beside a map of Yosemite National Park, points out the western Sierra watershed that feeds Hetch Hetchy and thus provides San Francisco with a major source of municipal water. *Courtesy San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.*



Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, appointed city engineer in 1912, is the final figure in this triptych of men whose visions molded the city. Where Ralston envisioned San Francisco as capital of an economic empire, and where Phelan introduced social, cultural, and political elements to his vision, O'Shaughnessy pursued a narrower, more technologically determined goal, that of creating a reliable infrastructure for urban growth. Born in Ireland in 1864, he graduated in engineering from the University of Dublin, then came to the United States and established himself as a highly successful hydraulic engineer. In 1912, Mayor James Rolph convinced him to accept a salary less than half that of his private practice to become city engineer. Upon O'Shaughnessy's death in 1934, the *San Francisco Examiner* noted that he "was never voluble. His eulogy is best expressed by his works."³⁰

In describing O'Shaughnessy as "never voluble," the *Examiner* understated the case. O'Shaughnessy issued dozens of reports during his years in city office, but nearly all are descriptions of engineering projects, intended to educate the city's officials and the city's people more generally regarding the work underway. He once complained that he had to run

"an engineering school, where as fast as he could teach the Supervisors what it was all about, the public turned them out and sent him new pupils."³¹ Only rarely does O'Shaughnessy's own vision peek through the pages of technical description, tables, maps, and diagrams. Even more than was true of Ralston, O'Shaughnessy expressed his vision of the city in his accomplishments.

When O'Shaughnessy took office, the city was about to celebrate the opening of the first municipally owned streetcar line in any major city. The city had just received an extensive report from a nationally prominent streetcar system consultant that outlined the public transportation needs of the city, especially for the rapidly approaching Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) and for the rapidly developing residential areas in the southern and western parts of the city. O'Shaughnessy set to work drafting plans for streetcar lines to serve the exposition, and the voters approved a bond issue in August 1913, with the funds available on January 1, 1914; construction began on January 2. On February 26, 1915, opening day of the exposition, one new line carried passengers from the working-class Potrero district to the PPIE in the Marina district via Van

Ness Avenue. A second new line connected the downtown retail shopping district to the Marina via the Stockton Street tunnel; a third line—acquired from private ownership—ran from the Ferry Building via Columbus and Union streets; and other new lines ran along California, Chestnut, and Greenwich streets—all designed and built in the twenty-nine months since O'Shaughnessy's appointment.

With the exposition served, O'Shaughnessy turned his attention to extending Municipal Railway lines into areas with no service, including the Mission District and the largely unpopulated sand dunes of the outer Sunset, Parkside, and Ingleside districts. Throughout the 1920s, he built new lines without additional bond issues, financing them from operating income and from assessments on the properties along the tracks. San Francisco's present streetcar system—the J, K, L, M, and N lines—was pushed to completion by O'Shaughnessy between 1915 and 1927, but a massive bond issue advocated by O'Shaughnessy for further expansion was defeated by city voters in 1927.³²

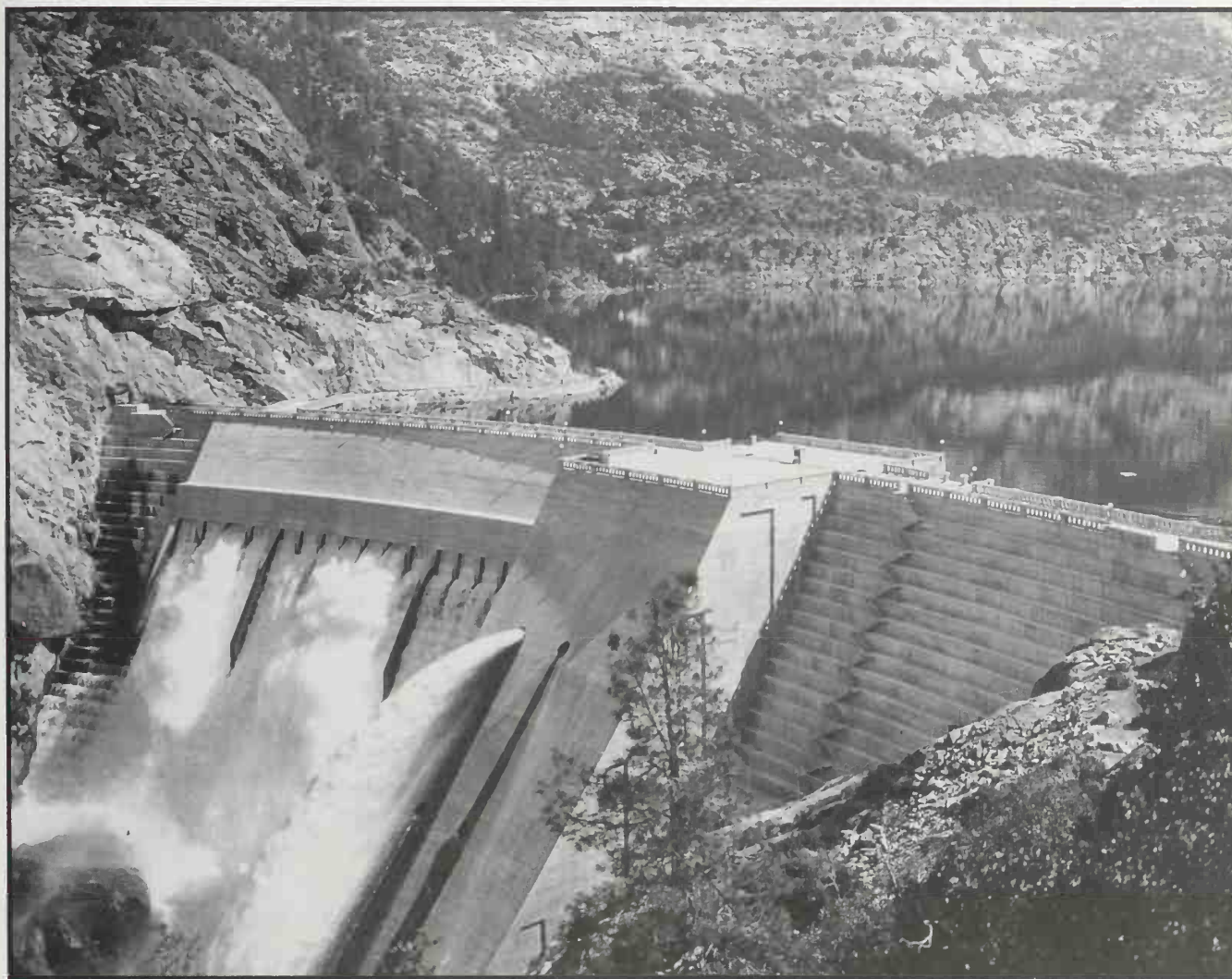
In overseeing development of the Muni streetcar system, O'Shaughnessy kept his vision fixed on several key elements. The city itself, he believed, should develop and operate a single system, able to provide a uniform level of service at a reasonable price to all parts of the city. The city should use the system to encourage and manage growth "in well ordered and predetermined directions" by building new lines in advance of residential construction. Equally important to O'Shaughnessy's vision was cost-effectiveness derived from careful design rather than low wages. Efficiency and cost-effectiveness, in his vision, resulted directly from keeping the operation free from political influence. If necessary, he favored using tax revenues to establish a unified, citywide service at a reasonable price without reducing wages.³³

As city engineer, O'Shaughnessy oversaw creation of most of the Municipal Railway, a high-pressure fire system, new sewers, boulevards and highways, tunnels, and more. But he was best known for Hetch Hetchy, the project that convinced him to leave a lucrative practice as a leading hydraulic engineer and to accept a reduced salary in order to design and build one of the most ambitious water systems in the nation. In December 1913, Congress approved damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park, and surveys began as soon as weather permitted in 1914. Not until more than twenty years

later did the first water from the reservoir reach San Francisco, sixteen days after O'Shaughnessy died of a heart attack. The project involved building not just a dam, but also a 68-mile-long railroad, several smaller dams, an aqueduct 156 miles long that included 85 miles of tunnels, some through solid granite, and hydroelectric generating plants and transmission lines. An initial bond issue of \$45 million, approved by voters in 1910, was exhausted before the work was half-done, and O'Shaughnessy emerged as the major advocate of subsequent bond issues in 1924 and 1928.³⁴ Because of his constant advocacy on behalf of bond issues, whether for water or streetcar work, some suggested that his initials, M.M., actually stood for "More Money." The total cost, from the first surveys to the point at which Hetch Hetchy water flowed from city faucets, was about \$100 million, and O'Shaughnessy took great pride that, as he put it, "not a crooked finger had been able to chisel a dollar out of it."³⁵

If Ralston represents a vision based on the economic marketplace, O'Shaughnessy embodies a technological dimension, a vision of the City Practical, the San Francisco version of the efficient production engineer praised by Thorstein Veblen as the antithesis of the adventurous speculator. O'Shaughnessy's vision took the long view: fifteen years to complete the streetcar grid and more than twenty to complete the Hetch Hetchy project. Long-term planning and technological expertise and efficiency were intended not only to provide effective, low-priced service to the public but also to guide the development of the city itself by creating an adequate water supply for a city of more than a million people and by building transportation corridors into undeveloped districts as a means of encouraging new residential construction.

The visions of Ralston, Phelan, and O'Shaughnessy dominate their era by virtue of their boldness and scope. By establishing the city as the capital of an economic empire, Ralston and others of his generation laid the base for a built environment dedicated to commerce, finance, and industry. By insisting on the importance of the arts and culture, Phelan and his associates broadened the identity of the city and encouraged an awareness of the significance of an aesthetic dimension to the built environment, even as they simultaneously worked to exclude any but white residents. Phelan, with his commitment to public ownership, and O'Shaugh-



O'Shaughnessey Dam, which controls the water level in Hetch Hetchy Reservoir. This view, taken by the San Francisco city photographer, ca. 1926, shows the dam as it looked before it was raised an additional eighty-six feet in 1936. *Courtesy City and County of San Francisco, Public Utilities Commission.*

nessy, the engineer, represent a Progressive Era commitment to using government to accomplish long-term planning to encourage growth, to manage the direction of growth, and to provide a technologically sound infrastructure in the service of the economy and society.

CHS

See notes beginning on page 337.

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The surviving structures of eastern California's infamous, violent mining town of Bodie, as captured by photographer Jill A. Lachman, ca. 1990, are now the core of Bodie State Historic Park. Abandoned precipitously by fleeing residents of the failed settlement, the buildings and artifacts of Bodie are kept in a perpetual state of "arrested decay" by the California State Department of Parks as a constant visual reminder of booms, and the busts, of the West's mining era. This photograph, "South Main Street," (see also color version on the front cover) shows three of the best-known structures, from left to right, the DeChambeau Hotel, the I.O.O.F. Building, and the Miners Labor Union Hall (now the park museum). *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*

Golden Promises, Abandoned Dreams

A BRIEF HISTORY AND PORTFOLIO OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF BODIE, CALIFORNIA

by Jill A. Lachman

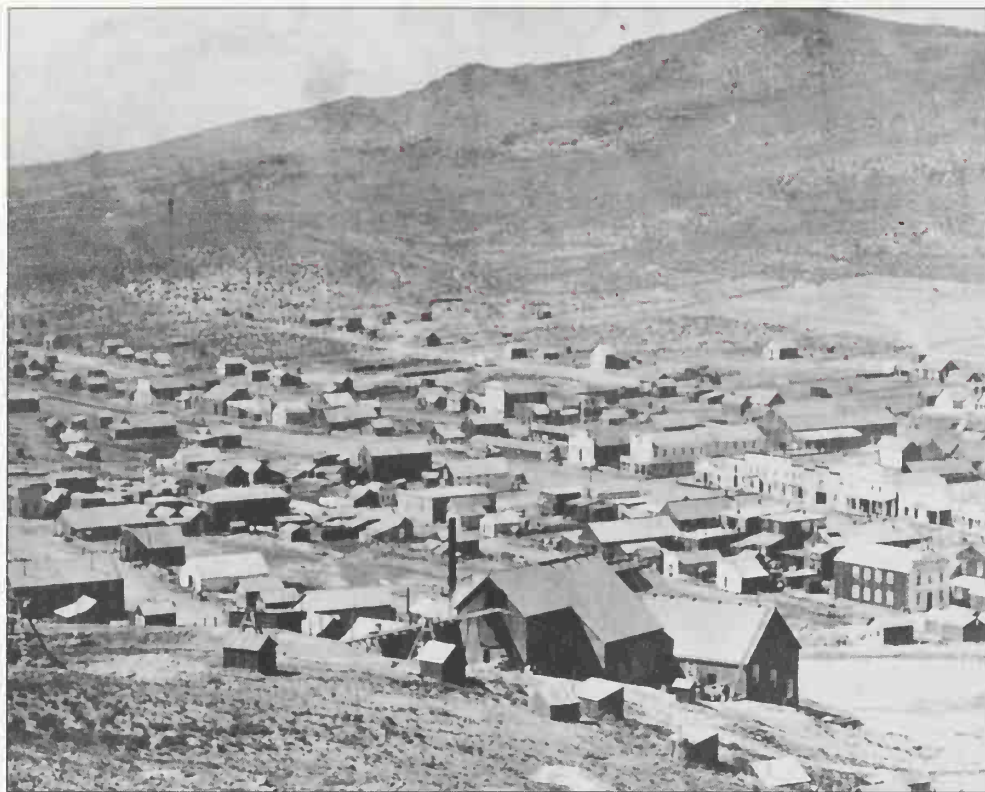
Bodie, California. In the nineteenth century the name alone conjured up visions of one of the wildest mining camps in the West. Now preserved by its isolation and state historic park status, Bodie stands as a memorial to days gone by and as an icon of our cultural past.

Within a decade after the initial excitement of the discovery of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, the precious metal began to be depleted, thus disappointing the miners who had left friend and family in their frenzied search for gold. At word of rich strikes on the eastern slopes of the Sierra, "gold fever" drove these men to undertake the arduous journey over those mountains.

One such man was W.S. Bodey. A native of Poughkeepsie, New York, Bodey spent eleven years of his life searching for the claim that would make him rich. His journey actually began in 1848 with a trip from Poughkeepsie around the Horn on the sloop *Matthew Vassar* in order to seek his fortune in the California gold fields. Like many others, he abandoned his trade, tinsmithing, and left behind a wife and six children. Paydirt eluded him in the areas of Oakflat and Humbug, California, so in 1859 he struck out with a small company of men to stake a claim on the eastern side of the Sierra. Their journey led them to the area around what we now call Mono Lake. When

he and his party arrived, few claims were free in the areas of Dogtown and Monoville, and they decided to prospect in the hills not far from Mono Lake. Bodey knew from his mining experience that the surrounding topography looked promising: it was mineralized quartz-type rock, which, if a miner were lucky, held gold and silver. Bodey's discovery of placer gold was a fluke, and the party concluded that they would have to do some digging if they were to reap the benefits of this claim.

With winter approaching, Bodey and one partner, E.S. Taylor, decided to build a cabin and wait until spring to develop the claim. On a supply trip back to their cabin they were caught in a sudden snowstorm, not uncommon in late fall, and Bodey collapsed from fatigue. It is said that Taylor, known as "Little Black" due to his being half Indian, tried unsuccessfully to carry Bodey. He raced back to their cabin with the supply-laden mules and then returned alone to brave the blizzard conditions in order to locate his partner. The raging storm had covered his tracks, as well as Bodey, and even the marker left by Little Black. Bodey's body was recovered the following spring, and he was laid to rest in a poorly marked grave. The mining district that grew up around his gold strike was named in his honor, with the spelling altered to "Bodie" during the "boom" years.



This historic photo shows Bodie in 1880, at the peak of its development. Courtesy Jill A. Lachman and the Larry Poag Collection.

In the 1860s, Bodie became synonymous with folly and broken dreams. Ten or more claims sprang up in the hills, but none were great producers. They were far overshadowed by the monumental strikes in places like Virginia City in 1859, Aurora in 1860, and others such as Benton and Cerro Gordo, to the south of Bodie, also in the 1860s. Bodie was considered a dud by the mining world. Actually, little gold was found even on W.S. Bodey's original claim, although gold was being extracted from sites in the broader region around Bodie.

Then, in 1875, a claim known as the Bunker Hill Mine suffered an accidental cave-in that revealed a rich vein of gold ore. The property changed hands several times, finally emerging as the Standard Mining and Milling Company. It was to be the longest-operating enterprise in the Bodie Mining District. Early gold processing was done with the aid of *arrastras*, simple animal-powered mills that slowly crushed the ore. The phenomenal success of the Standard's first year of production led the company to build its own gold stamp mill in 1876, and word spread like wildfire through the mining world. The

Standard's good fortune, coupled with the decline of many Nevada mining camps, brought about the Bodie gold rush. Numerous companies were formed, and many threw caution to the wind, disregarding the primary rule of mining: "exploration should always precede extraction." The increased need for greater ore-processing capacity brought additional stamp mills to Bodie. The Standard Mill still stands today despite a disastrous fire that burned the original wooden structure to the ground in 1898; it was rebuilt utilizing corrugated iron and resumed production before the close of 1899. By 1877 a Bodie miners labor union was formed, one of the early labor unions in California.

The town sprang up in the 1870s with the sounds of the saw and hammer heard day and night. Stagecoaches arrived filled with passengers and left loaded with gold bullion. The massive machinery of mining was hauled in, mostly from San Francisco, at great expense. It did not matter to most, as "gold fever" attacked with a vengeance. Along with the miners and millers came assayers, storekeepers, entrepreneurs, and a few families, in addition to the

usual assortment of camp followers, such as gamblers, faro dealers, and prostitutes. With largely a single-male population, Bodie quickly gained a reputation as a "den of iniquity," even more famous for its violence than for its gold. Any desire could be fulfilled in Bodie, for a price. Civic pride is responsible for the change in the spelling of the town's name. Residents wanted to ensure no mispronunciation of their fair "City of the Sky," as they called it.

Bodie's population included a multitude of nationalities, though minorities remain largely obscured in its literature, as was true throughout most of the old West. Most of the miners were of Cornish descent, although living in Bodie were also Chinese, and a large portion of the town's shopkeepers, craftsmen, and laborers were Italians, Jews, Irish, Germans, and Mexicans. African Americans were few in number, though one of the original backers of the Bunker Hill Mine was an African American who worked as a boarding house manager. Also, still living in the area were remnants of the native tribes, the Paiute and Shoshone. To work in the mines or the mills you had to be a member of the union, however, and to be a member of the union the requirements were that you be a minimum of sixteen years of age, male, and white.

Census figures for 1880 counted Bodie's inhabitants at six to seven thousand, although some historians claimed it reached as high as 10,000. During the peak of occupancy, the school census reached 600, though not every child attended daily, since many were required to assist in the duties of running the household. It was not until the first population decline in 1882, due to the shrinking profitability of numerous companies, that the two churches were finally built.

By 1879, the existing water wells had proved to be inadequate for such a large town. Coupled with the increasing contamination of ground water from mining, the shortage prompted a search for a new water supply. Ultimately, year-round springs were located at Rough Creek, the Bodie Water Company formed and stock sold, and a wooden pipeline was laid from the springs to reservoirs built on the hillside above the town, from which gravity moved the water to the town. In 1881, the town put in the first fire hydrants on Main Street and completed the

Bodie & Benton Railway, which ran from Mono Mills on the other side of Mono Lake to the top of the ridge in Bodie, solely to satisfy the town's enormous demand for wood. Since the town sat in a high desert area that is almost devoid of trees except for a few stands of aspens in the surrounding hills, in winter wood became even more valuable than gold.

With approximately two thousand buildings constructed principally of wood, fire was inevitable, and in 1892 Bodie suffered the first of its two great conflagrations. Despite the fire hydrants, the system was not well maintained, and the delay in getting water resulted in the destruction of sixty structures on Main Street, all due to a grease fire that started in a kitchen.

But every cloud has a silver lining, and in 1892 the Standard Company's superintendent, Thomas H. Leggett, convinced management that the long-distance transmission of electricity was possible. The town's local water supply was insufficient to support a hydro-electric plant, so one was built thirteen miles southwest of town, outside Bridgeport at Green Creek. The wires were brought into Bodie on a straight line because the thinking of the day was that if the wires were bent around corners there was a chance the electricity would jump off into space and be lost. Electrical power was a much-needed shot in the arm for the economy of the town, since many companies were already bankrupt.

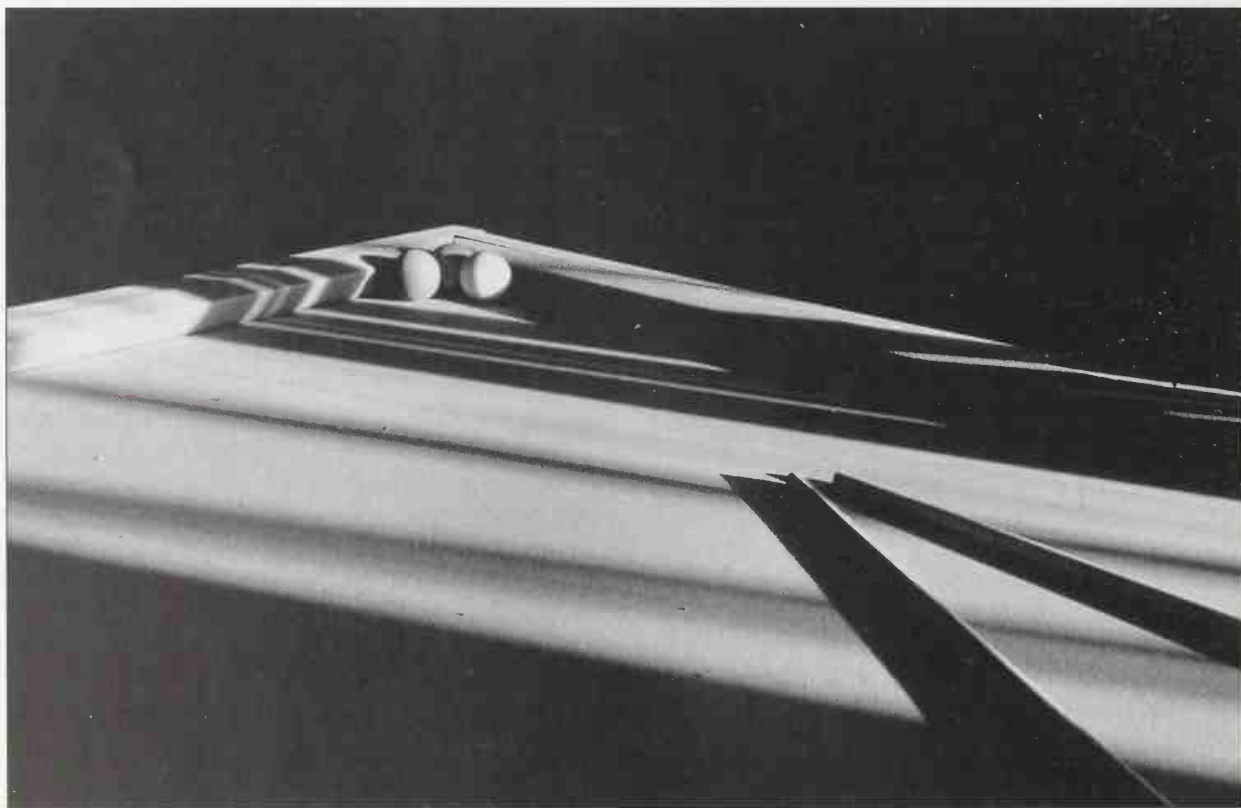
The boost was not enough to stem the depopulation of Bodie, however. The exodus resumed later in the 1890s, when news of gold strikes in Arizona, Idaho, and Colorado reached the large number of the town's miners and mill workers who were already out of work. This began a movement back toward the east, but some people held on, determined that the town would someday recover its former glory. In 1895 the Standard was again in the forefront of the news when it started using the newly developed cyanide process to re-work tailing dumps and low-grade ore. Although the new technology revived activity for a while, even this was not enough to restore the town fully.

[text continues on page 318]

BODIE, CALIFORNIA

A PORTFOLIO OF PHOTOGRAPHS

by Jill A. Lachman



"The Billiard Table," photograph by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. The building housing this abandoned billiard table served first as the Bodie Land Office, next as the power company headquarters, and finally as the Wheaton & Hollis Hotel. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*



"Open Doorway," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. The Wheaton & Hollis Hotel, one of the better inns of Bodie, boasted wrought-iron bed frames and pressed tin walls, even in the rooms, and some rooms even had their own stoves for combatting the frigid Bodie winter. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*

"Bar, Wheaton-Hollis Hotel," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. The remnant of the Wheaton & Hollis Hotel's bar, complete with large mirror and pressed tin walls, still speaks of Bodie's lost opulence. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*



Left "A Lightbulb's View," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. In the park's state of "arrested decay," even the lightbulbs are not allowed to be dusted. Nevertheless, this one reveals what lies outside the building. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*



Below: "Interior, Boone Store," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. Erected in 1879 and once owned by a descendent of Daniel Boone, this building served as a general store. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*





"Detail, Boone Store," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. Viewed through a coffee mill, the merchandise of the Boone Store still sits on the shelves as if awaiting purchase. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*



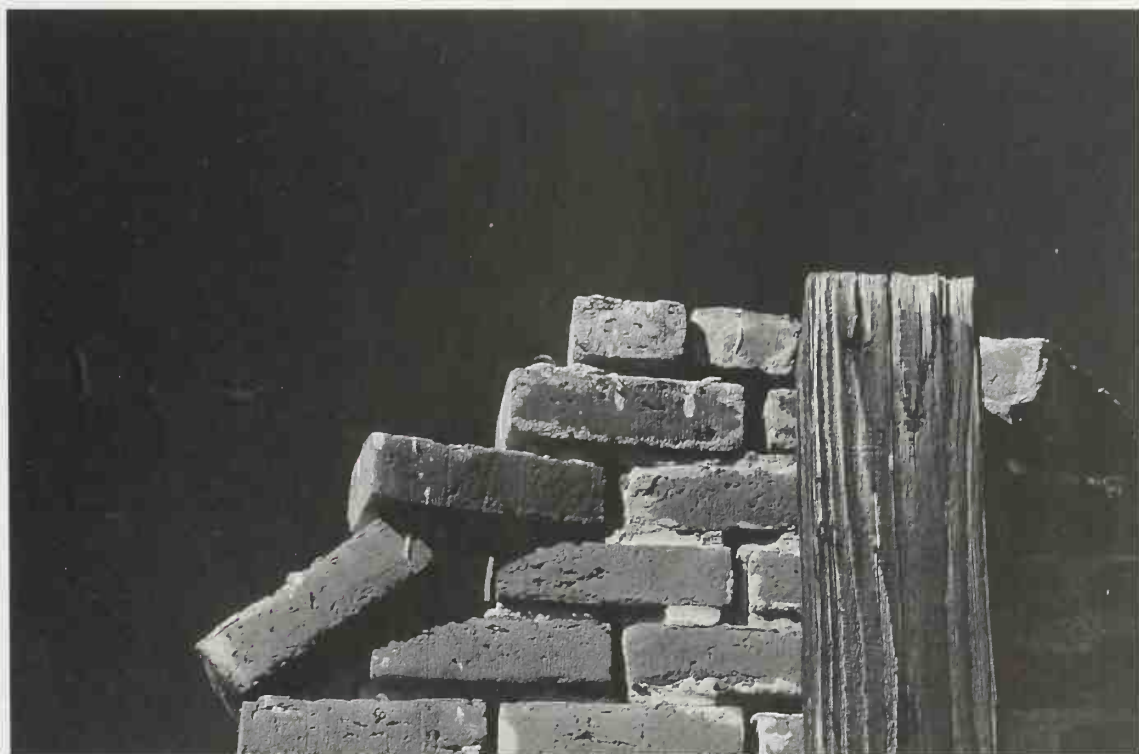
"Another Day, Another Time," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. Artifacts of life in Bodie, still located in the one-time residence of the town's infamous one-armed lawyer, Patrick Reddy. Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.



"Assayer's Office," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. Assayer A. Soderling was in business in Bodie for more than twenty-five years. After the 1932 fire, he moved his office, complete with bottles of chemicals, into the Wheaton & Hollis Hotel. Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.



"Interior, Miller House," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. Tom Miller worked for the Mono Lake Railway & Lumber Company at Mono Mills. This state-park building is open to the public as an example of Bodie's housing. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*



"Boards and Bricks Series," by Jill A. Lachman, original in color. This structural remnant was part of the crumbling Mastretti Liquor Warehouse in the north end of town, located conveniently to serve the neighborhood holding the bulk of Bodie's sixty-five saloons. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*

World War I, indeed all the years from 1910 to 1920, were not the kindest to Bodie. The population dropped from 500 to below 100. In 1917, the four locomotives departed for other work, and the railroad tracks were torn up and sold for scrap. In 1915, the Standard Mining and Milling Company also closed down, although the mining properties held by the Standard, including the mill itself, were leased on and off by various concerns until approximately 1938. The 1920s brought about the construction of an improved, but unpaved, highway, making Bodie more accessible to motorists, and it began to be known as a ghost town/tourist attraction. Some of Bodie's remaining residents took to running tours through the abandoned north end of town or operating cafes for visitors. In 1929, the Homestake Mining Company and Treadwell-Yukon merged in an effort to process discarded ore and mine low-grade quartz in Bodie. The onset of the Great Depression, however, had put an end to the enterprise by 1932.

Unfortunately, Bodie, by now reduced to a tiny hamlet with numerous abandoned buildings, suffered an even greater fire. On June 23, 1932, a blaze was started behind the Sawdust Corners Saloon by a small boy who was upset over not being served cake and ice cream at a birthday party. Again, fire-fighting equipment had not been maintained, and instead of water, rocks and dirt came through the lines. Even the hoses had not been preserved, and many fell to pieces as they were unfurled. This fire devastated the town. Between it and the 1892 fire, roughly ninety-five percent of the town's structures were lost.

No rebuilding took place after the 1932 fire. Landmarks such as the Occidental Hotel, the Bodie Bank, and the U.S. Hotel, were lost. Jim Cain, one of the most influential figures in Bodie since the late 1870s, lost almost everything except his home (he owned the Bodie Bank and other ventures). By 1935, even Cain had lost faith that Bodie would regain its status as "queen" of the mining camps, and he leased his mining property to the Roseklip Mines Company and moved to the area south of San Francisco. Roseklip's operation tried to take over where Treadwell-Yukon had left off, but in 1942 the Non-Essential

Minerals Act closed down the business. That year also saw the closing of the post office and the school, which had only nine students by that time. In 1946, the Roseklip went back into operation but could not sustain enough success to stay in business, and when the plant burned down in 1946, the whole project was abandoned.

By the late 1940s, Bodie had gained a widespread reputation as a ghost town. When its residents had moved away, numerous artifacts had been left behind because the high cost of shipping had prohibited taking anything but the most precious, sentimental, or essential items. The town became more important for its lively past than for its potential as a mining property. The few remaining residents eked out their living working small claims, or catering to curious tourists. Although most of the townsite was eventually bought up by the Cain family, who installed a caretaker on the property, Bodie became the object of treasure-seekers and antique dealers. It is said that the scavengers used to watch the town from the surrounding hills, and when the caretaker went for supplies, they would swoop down like a flock of vultures, stealing whatever they could get their hands on. This practice is evidenced today by the large number of Bodie artifacts not only in private hands, but also on the marketplace.

In the late 1950s, the Cain family approached the state of California to negotiate the sale of Bodie. Its historical and cultural significance realized, Bodie became a state park in 1962, with the aim of preserving what was left there in a state of "arrested decay," thereby enabling visitors to get a feeling of what life was like in the town when it was a thriving community. Bodie has since become celebrated as one of the most authentic sites to experience the excitement of the Old West, and it is recognized by the Department of the Interior as a National Historic Landmark.

In recent years, with the rise of gold prices and improved recovery technology, there has been an attempt to re-open mining around Bodie. A Canadian firm, Galactic Resources, Ltd., operating in California through its subsidiary, the Bodie Consolidated Mining Company, leased and/or bought mineral rights from private owners and established additional claims on nearby public land with the United States Bureau of Land Management. Initial core drilling was done in late 1988 through 1990, and the new company believed that stores of gold found were rich enough to warrant production. Galactic



Bodie's U.S. Hotel, ca. 1931, just before the disastrous fire of June 23, 1932, which along with the fire of 1892 destroyed this building and overall about ninety-five percent of the town's buildings. *Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. James C. Doherty, Bishop, California, and Jill A. Lachman.*

Resources blanketed the area with literature expounding on the virtues of renewed mining, new jobs, increased tourism, business growth, booming real estate, enrichment of the area, and predictions of a rise in Bodie's popularity. They particularly targeted Bodie's closest neighbor, Bridgeport, California. Galactic predicted that Bodie would once more become a center of economic activity.

On the other hand, citizens concerned about Bodie's historic preservation charged that even though the town exists in a state of "arrested decay," renewed mining would be devastating to the structures, the ambience of the town, and wildlife that either passes through the area or now makes its home in the remaining tailing dumps. In 1988, the California State Park Rangers Association formed the Save Bodie! Committee. Along with Eastern Sierra Citizens for the Protection of Bodie, it opposed the reestablishment of mining in Bodie and its vicinity and works in other ways to protect Bodie's historical integrity.

As of 1993, Galactic entered bankruptcy, due to an expensive cyanide clean-up that it had to undertake at its mine in Summitville, Colorado. Nevertheless, the fight to "Save Bodie!" is not yet won. Galactic still retains its Bodie holdings, and the bankruptcy trustee is currently trying to liquidate the property. The possibility exists, of course, that the company could sell the property to another mining company that would take over where Galactic left off. Galactic paid for preparation of a draft environmental impact report required by the Mono County Board

of Supervisors and requested a permit for additional drilling and exploration. The decision of the supervisors had not been rendered at the time that Galactic filed for bankruptcy, and the county still considers the proposal to be pending.

In late 1994, however, the prospects for Bodie's preservation improved greatly. In the closing days of the congressional session, an act supported by the Save Bodie! Committee to shield Bodie from adverse effects of mining was amended into the California Desert Protection Act, which narrowly passed and was signed into law by President Clinton. The new law prohibits new mineral claims on 6,000 acres of federally owned land around Bodie, which is important particularly because Galactic's claims are expiring under bankruptcy proceedings. In the future, mining even on valid claims will be subject to regulations aimed at preventing injury to Bodie's natural and historical resources.

For now, Bodie stands with its weathered buildings and artifacts passively resisting time and the harsh elements, tenaciously clinging to its existence. Once it held the golden promise of a new tomorrow; now it symbolizes only abandoned dreams and memorials to another era. The wind whistles through the tin, recalling the melodies of hurdy-gurdies, the rustle of cards being shuffled by the faro dealers, the smell of chop stands, the din of gold stamp mills operating twenty-four hours a day six days a week, protracted gun fights, the laughter from the sixty-five saloons, the tinkling of piano keys, the bawdy calls of the prostitutes with color-

Summer 1989



Vol. I, No. 1



★ THE ★ BODIE BULLETIN

GOLD SOUGHT

ONE MORE TIME

PROSPECTORS

— AGAIN —

EYING



MINING DISTRICT



**Mining Co. Sees Cooperation
Between Mine, State Parks**

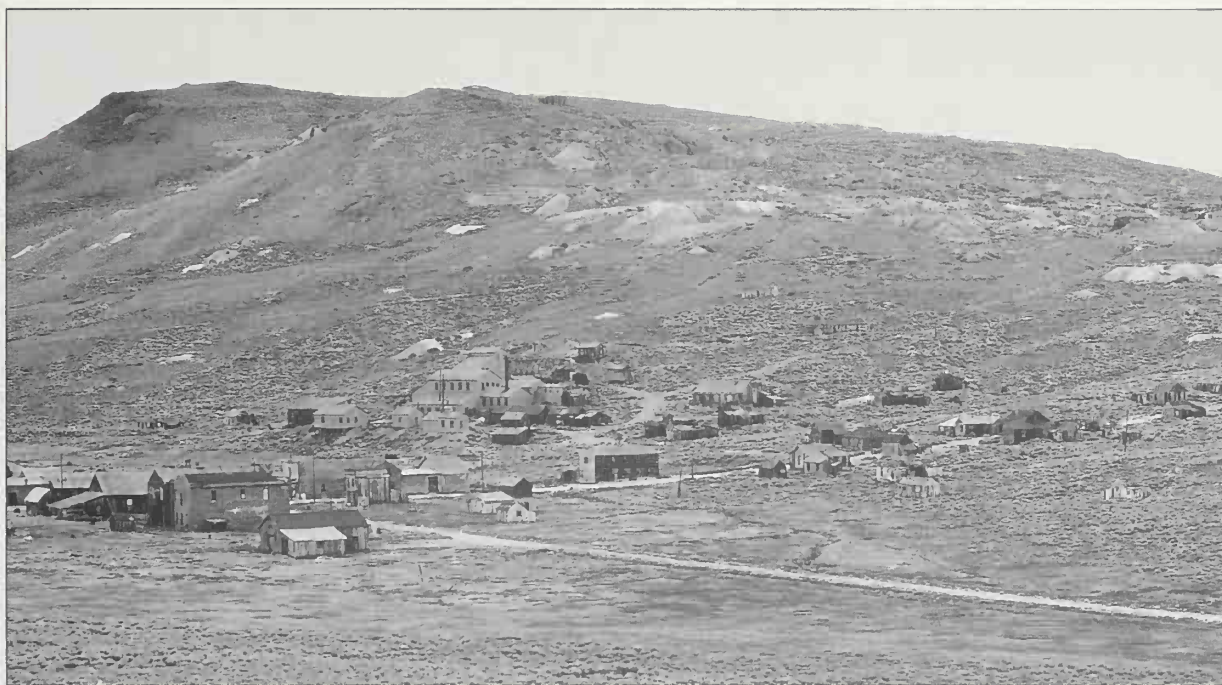
Cover of a 1989 brochure distributed by the Bodie Consolidated Mining Company as part of its campaign to convince the local population to support the reopening of mining in the Bodie district. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*

ful names like Madame Moustache, French Joe, and Beautiful Doll, and the crackle of winters when epidemics of pneumonia and influenza swept through the town, taking an enormous toll.

Bodie now has a staff of three full-time park rangers and a maintenance worker who live there year-round in existing residences, moderately renovated. In the summer, the park takes on additional staff to assist with the influx of visitors who come from around the world for a glimpse of the remnants of people's lives left behind, through the locked doors and windows. They visit the park's museum, which contains artifacts of daily life, and purchase books about Bodie's colorful history. Visitors wander through the cemetery, which contains a memorial to President Garfield, though he is not buried in Bodie, and hear a history talk or take a tour of the Standard Mill. Bodie is an exceptional place. Called by many the best-preserved ghost town in the West, its popularity is on the rise. In 1993, almost 230,000 people visited Bodie. It is unique; its allure is captivating and its magic still survives.

CHS

Photographer Jill Lachman's interest in Bodie began with her first visit there in 1984 during a photographic workshop. She has studied photography at Chabot College in Hayward, California, in addition to attending numerous workshops such as the Ansel Adams Workshop, lectures and field studies with photographic luminaries such as Brett Weston, Ruth Bernhard, Geir Jordahl, Clinton Smith, and Kate Jordahl. Her interest in Bodie has led her to become a seasonal staff member at Bodie State Historic Park for the past three years. Ms. Lachman's works have appeared in group exhibitions both regionally and nationally. Since 1993 she has exhibited as a solo artist. Images from her Bodie portfolio have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Travel 50* and *Beyond* magazine, and in several other books and publications. Lachman's upcoming exhibitions include the Olive Hyde Gallery, Fremont, California, January 11-February 12, 1995; and Charleston Heights Art Center, Las Vegas, Nevada, September-October, 1995.



Modern-day Bodie, ca. 1993, by Jill A. Lachman. The large light-colored structure to the left of center is all that remains of the extensive industrial mining buildings that once dominated the Bodie landscape. The ridge above Bodie, lying outside the borders of the state park, has been the site where various mining interests have proposed to reopen mining. It was these federally controlled lands that were at least in part protected by Congress's passage of the California Desert Protection Act in the fall of 1994. *Courtesy Jill A. Lachman.*

For More Information

Bodie State Historic Park is best visited during the summer. At other times the weather is unpredictable. Off-season visitors are cautioned to check at the Mono County sheriff's office in Bridgeport or to call Bodie State Historic Park for road and weather conditions before making the trip. Roads are often difficult; trailers are not advised. Over-snow equipment such as snowmobiles, skis, and snowshoes may be required to reach the park during winter months. (Snowmobiles are not allowed in the townsite.) An entrance fee is charged year-round. Interpretive programs generally run from Memorial Day to Labor Day, and it is advised that visitors contact the park regarding that schedule. Those interested in more information about Bodie State Historic Park may write or call the park at: Bodie State Historic Park, P.O. Box 515, Bridgeport, California 93517, (619) 647-6445. Questions may also be directed to Save Bodie!, California State Park Rangers Association, P.O. Box 292010, Sacramento, California 95829-2010, (916) 558-3734.

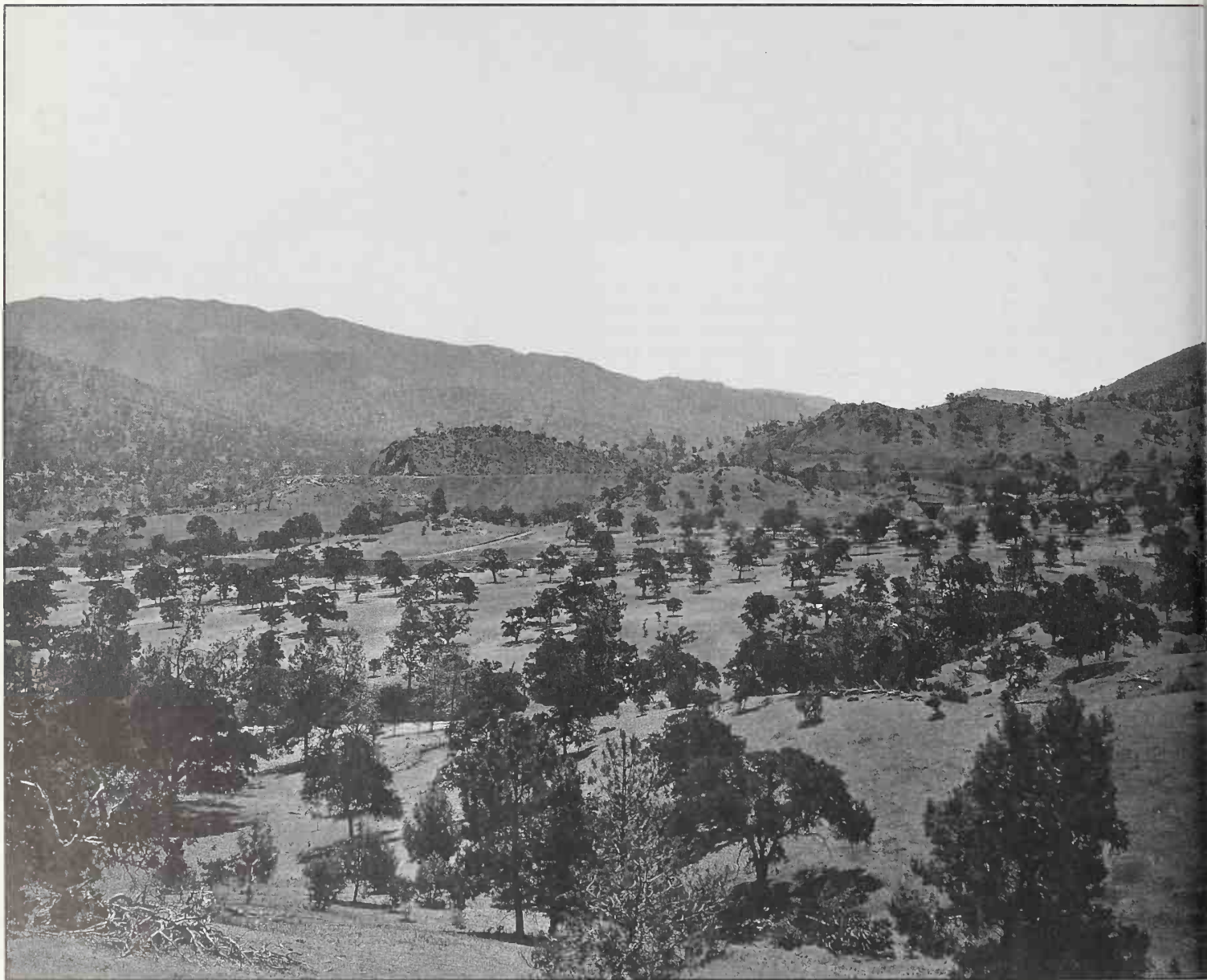
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- Wedertz, Frank S. *Bodie: 1859-1900*. Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, 1969.
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Suggested Viewing

- Bodie: Ghost Town Frozen in Time*. (video available for sale at Bodie State Historic Park)
- McCabe and Mrs. Miller*. (movie)
- The Untold West*, Parts I, II, III. (TV documentary special)
- The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (movie)



This Carleton E. Watkins photograph, ca. 1870s, taken near Tehachapi Pass, illustrates the oak-studded hill country that covered much of California during the settlement period. By the late twentieth century, however, because of land development, the spread of agriculture and grazing, and fire suppression, the survival of California's natural oak population is threatened. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

The Natural History of Big Sur.

By Paul Henson and Donald J. Usner. Illustrations by Valerie A. Kells. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, xvi, 416 pp., \$30.00 cloth.)

Oaks of California.

By Bruce M. Pavlik, Pamela C. Muick, Sharon G. Johnson, and Marjorie Pepper. (Los Olivos: Cachuma Press and California Oak Foundation, 1992, vii, 184 pp., \$21.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Raymond F. Dasmann, professor of ecology, emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of California's Changing Environment.

Big Sur is not really a place at all, but as one of its resident authors, Lillian Ross, has defined it, a "state of mind." Some identify it with the village of sorts that has developed along the Big Sur River. The Spanish settlers at Monterey knew it as the "big country to the south." It is this imprecise quality of Big Sur that forced the authors of this book to fix it on the map as the Santa Lucia mountains and coast, from the Carmel River to San Carpoforo Creek. It is the land where the redwoods reach their southernmost limit. It is the once nearly impassible country that forced the Spanish explorers to seek an inland route in their journey up the coast from Santa Barbara to Monterey. It is still the country that most travelers prefer to go around, and that is, perhaps, its salvation.

There are only two areas in California where the mountains really run head-on into the sea. One is the Santa Lucia coast, the other, the King Range of Humboldt County. One has been made barely accessible through construction of State Highway One, which hangs on the Big Sur cliffs. The other remains, fortunately, unroaded. The Big Sur coast, as revealed from the highway, now provides some of the most striking landscapes and seascapes available in California. However, the coast is only the fringe of an area that remains for most people unknown and accessible only by hiking or horseback.

Paul Henson and Donald Usner have provided a well-written and easy-to-understand account of the natural history of this fascinating and diverse region. Valerie Kells has added useful black and white illustrations throughout the book. Their account goes beyond the usual natural history boundaries, however, to discuss the human history and its affects on the flora, fauna, veg-

etation, and landscapes of the Santa Lucia Mountains. In particular, the role of fire is examined, as it has shaped most of the landscape mosaics.

The Santa Lucias were not much affected by the early Spanish settlement of the central coast, except to the extent that the missions at Carmel, Soledad, San Antonio, and San Miguel drained away or otherwise decimated the Ohlone, Esselen, and Salinan people who once were the only humans in this area. During the homesteading period, a scattering of Euro-American families moved in to try their hand at livestock ranching and subsistence farming. Most of the land area was removed from settlement and uncontrolled exploitation by the establishment of the Los Padres National Forest, starting in 1906. Hence, even today, the area remains sparsely populated, and it is likely to remain that way in the foreseeable future.

Although the fringes of Big Sur are reached by innumerable tourists, this book is for those who wish to do more than just drive by on Highway One. *The Natural History of Big Sur* is one of the California Natural History guides published by the University of California Press. With 416 pages, it is less adapted to being carried in a backpack than the earlier guide books, but it will be a valuable companion to those who seek to explore and comprehend this diverse and spectacular mountain region.

It will become obvious from a glance at the entrancing color photograph on the cover that *Oaks of California* is not your usual botanical treatise. The color and beauty of California's oak landscapes and individual oak trees are carried throughout this profusely illustrated volume. It does indeed describe the eighteen species of California oaks in adequate botanical and ecological detail, including keys for identification, but it is more than that.

If any genus of plants can be said to characterize California it is the oak genus, *Quercus*. Oaks dominated the landscapes where the first European visitors and settlers arrived, but for thousands of years before that, oaks had provided the basic sustenance for native Californians. Acorns were the Indian corn of California, but were far more nutritious than maize, as any deer or pig could tell you.

The various ways in which oaks have contributed to the enhancement of life in California, from Indian times to the present day, are discussed in this book. Uses of California oaks, from

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not chosen for review, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the library of the California Historical Society.

being primarily viewed as a source of acorns to their present day uses as furniture wood, flooring, firewood, etc., are presented. Regrettably, the pressure exerted by the 32 million inhabitants of California has taken its toll, and much of the once-widespread oak savanna and open woodland has been cleared for other uses. Most disturbing is the ongoing decline in oak reproduction. Although acorns continue to be produced, there are few saplings or young trees among the ancient valley oaks that still dominate the landscape around Mission San Antonio, and elsewhere in the valleys and lower foothills where these trees thrive. The blue oaks of the higher foothills, and the Engelmann and coastal scrub oaks of southern California also suffer from low recruitment and accelerated land clearing. Just simply replanting oak trees may not be enough. We may have to restore the original ecosystems to which our ancient oaks belonged. Perhaps we should consult the dryads on how to proceed?

This book is laden with bits and pieces of California history: the Miwok care of the Yosemite oak groves, William Randolph Hearst's strenuous efforts to save his favored oaks at San Simeon, the pilgrimage of botanists Asa Grey, Sir Joseph Hooker, and John Muir to pay homage to the giant valley oak at Chico (nine feet in diameter and 150 feet crown-spread). We see the oak woodlands that once stood to give Oakland its name, and can still view the giant oak where Peter Lebec was buried, after being killed by a grizzly bear near Fort Tejon in 1837 (apparently his only claim to fame). Or perhaps you wish to learn how to make acorn porridge and acorn bread? This book will tell you how.

If this book stirs your desire to see the best of the remaining California oak landscapes, there is a guide, complete with maps of the best places to go, how to get there, and what you will see. I suspect it will also inspire a nostalgia for the California that was, and a desire to work for the kind of California that yet may be.

CHS

Practicing Law in Frontier California.

By Gordon Morris Bakken (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991, xvii, 192 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Law for the Elephant, Law for the Beaver: Essays in the Legal History of the North American West.

By John McLaren, Hamar Foster, and Chet Orloff (eds.) (Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina; and Pasadena, California: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, 1992, ix, 322 pp., \$19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Michael Griffith, historian/archivist, U.S. District Court, San Francisco.

In recent years, the legal history of the West has become a topic of growing interest to scholars. The two books under review here illustrate the breadth and depth of these new investigations.

Gordon Bakken's *Practicing Law* is the second of what he has projected as a four-volume series on the history of law in California. In it, Bakken turns away from changes in the law itself, covered in *The Development of Civil Law in Frontier California*, to examine the professional lives of California attorneys during the nineteenth century.

Overall, *Practicing Law* makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of California legal history. Its detailed study helps give shape to what had been a rather vague picture. Among Bakken's contributions are an examination of the differences between rural and urban practices. He finds that in order to make a living, rural practitioners combined law with other careers far more often than did their urban counterparts. In addition, Bakken makes interesting observations about the changing foci of practice, with movement occurring from debt collection during the gold-rush era to areas such as property law and personal injury litigation by the end of the century. Other topics Bakken investigates include the education of attorneys, the "conditions of practice," and the public image of lawyers.

Bakken's work, however, is more descriptive than theoretical. Although he takes note of ongoing debates, *Practicing Law* would be strengthened if Bakken related his findings more fully to an interpretation of the history of the profession and its role in American society. Such an effort also might identify what was distinctive in the development of the profession in California.

In addition, it should be noted that while well researched, *Practicing Law* rests chiefly on elite sources. The book is based on manuscript collections, almost always left by attorneys who enjoyed long and successful practices, and on biographies pub-

lished in bar and other local histories, generally also of established attorneys. It is possible that some of its conclusions might be modified through the obviously difficult study of less successful (and less recorded) attorneys.

Whereas Bakken's volume is relatively specific in topic, *Law for the Elephant*, *Law for the Beaver* ranges over a wide variety of subjects. Initially presented as papers at the first "Transboundary Conference on the Legal History of the West and Northwest of North America," held in Victoria, B.C., in 1991, its contents include essays on native Americans and the law, the law of the fur trade, and water law, among other topics. However, most, but not all, of the papers focus on nineteenth-century developments.

Although its somber blue cover may not lift the spirits of prospective readers, *Law for the Elephant* is a very readable volume of essays. Almost always interesting and often engrossing, it suggests new avenues of research and points out new perspectives. By doing so, it is of value not only to legal historians but to scholars of the West generally.

As with any collection of essays, it is difficult to do justice to all the pieces (in this case, eleven plus a lengthy introduction) within the confines of a limited review. However, at least some should be mentioned. John Reid's opening essay, "The Layers of Western Legal History," clarifies the various meanings that might be attached to the term and also outlines the state of knowledge in different areas. Richard Maxwell Brown's paper, "Law and Order on the American Frontier," makes a provocative, if not wholly convincing, synthesis by seeing frontier violence as part of a "western civil war of incorporation." In "Constitution Making in the Nineteenth-Century American West," Christian Fritz uses the study of state constitutional conventions to shed new light on the development of constitutional theory and thinking in the United States, moving the focus away from an almost exclusive concentration on the national Constitution. Perhaps the most engrossing essay is Hamar Foster's "Killing Mr. John," which tells the "fascinating, if somewhat pathetic," story of the murder of young John McLoughlin, son of Dr. John McLoughlin, and the complicated issues involved in trying to bring his murderers to justice. Finally, John McLaren's investigation of the extent to which British Columbia judges relied on California and Oregon precedents in their rulings on the "Chinese question" illuminates the similarities and differences of the United States and Canadian wests in most stimulating fashion.

Law for the Elephant testifies to the variety of interests covered by western legal history, and it shows how legal history can intersect with social, political, and intellectual history to produce a rich story. For those interested in the history of the Far West in the United States or Canada, it is definitely valuable reading.

CHS

The Fantastic Fair: The Story of the California Midwinter International Exposition, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, 1894.

By Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan. (St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1993, ix, 82 pp., \$15.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Burton Benedict, professor emeritus of anthropology and director of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*.

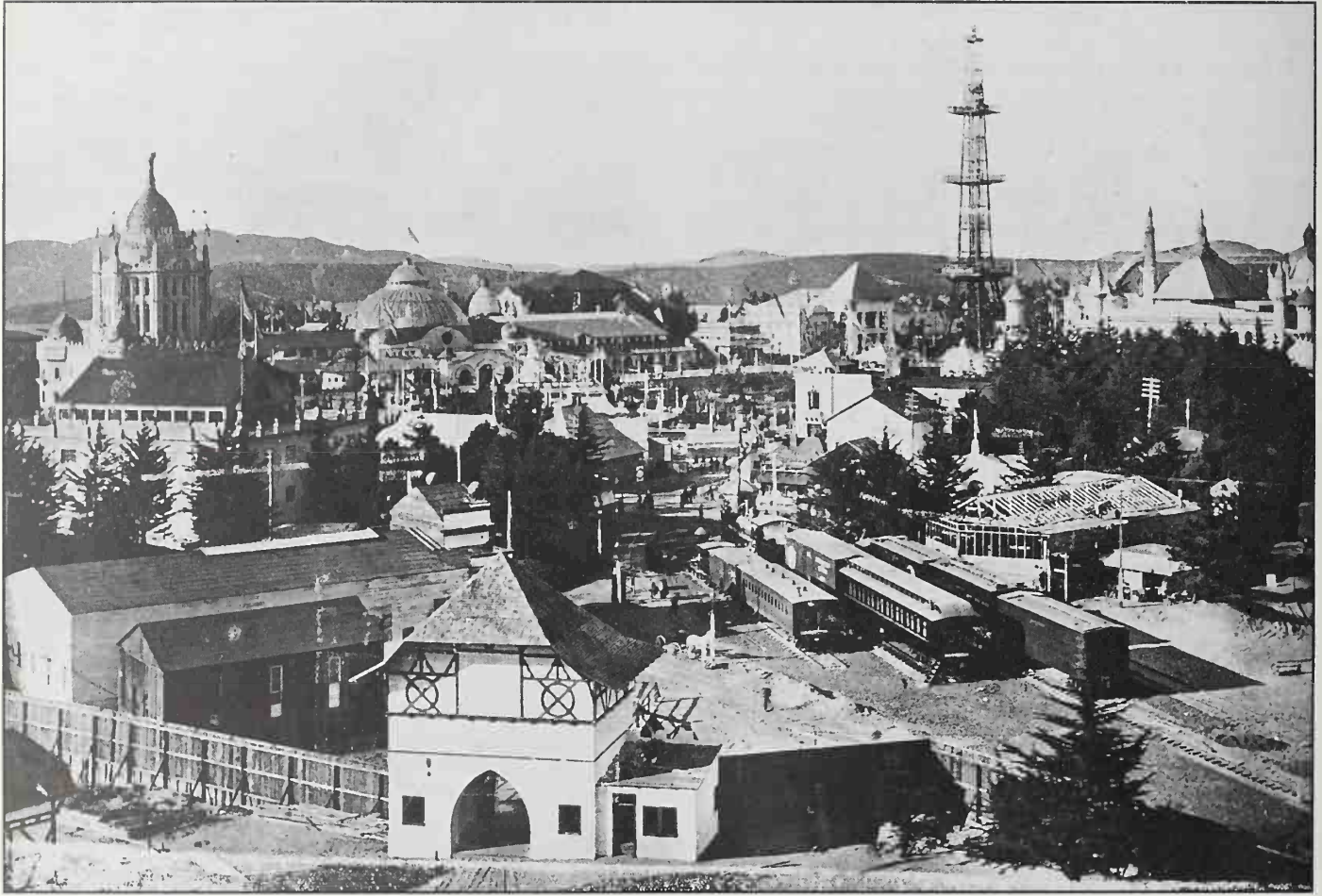
The California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 was both a pretty sleazy fair and a remarkable achievement. Its sleaziness consisted in its gimcrack polyglot architecture, its tawdry midway attractions, and its feeble pretensions at being an international exposition. Its achievement was to have happened at all, to be built in seven months, to have turned a profit and to have drawn attention to the potential of California in general and San Francisco in particular.

Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan have produced an informative evocation of the 1894 fair. A fair is a feast for the eyes, and this book provides twelve splendid color plates and many photographs that give a good idea of how the fair looked.

The fair was a postscript to the great World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. The notion of an exposition in San Francisco was largely the brainchild of M.H. de Young, publisher of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who was commissioner of the California exhibits at Chicago. He persuaded exhibitors from eighteen foreign countries to display their wares in San Francisco before shipping them home, thus justifying the adjective, "international." Persuasion was less successful with U.S. states, only five of which mounted exhibits.

The authors make some attempt to place the fair in the social and economic context of the time. They mention the depression of 1893, the power of the railroads, and the corrupt politics of the city, but more could have been done to show how the fair affected or was affected by what was going on in California. Was the recovery of San Francisco businesses really the result of the fair, as the authors imply (p. 67)? The account of how the fair was built is perfunctory and might have provided a clue to this recovery. Although there were various congresses and meetings held in association with the fair, we are not told what intellectual impact these had, if any.

The description of the fair is well done, from the miniature Eiffel Tower surmounted by a powerful searchlight to the walnut elephant and prune knight celebrating the agricultural abundance of the state. Voyeurism was catered to by the "naughty Turkish dancing girls" and the Gum Girls, who passed out free samples, as well as by the living ethnic



The California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894, in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. In the foreground are several of the Southern Pacific Railroad's new passenger cars and the C.P. Huntington locomotive. Most of the structures seen here, including Bonet Tower, right rear of photo, were later destroyed. *Southern Pacific Company Photo.*

exhibits of Eskimos, Dahomeyans, Hawaiians, and South Sea Islanders.

The 1894 Midwinter Exposition had little long-term impact and the book might just as easily been called "The Forgotten Fair." Adamantly opposed by John MacLaren, the superintendent of Golden Gate Park, who dynamited what was left of the Fair's buildings in January 1896, its remains in Golden Gate Park consist only of the Japanese Tea Garden, the form of the Music

Concourse, the de Young Museum (though not in its original building), and a few statues and works of art. Perhaps the most lasting impact of the fair was the invention of the Chinese fortune cookie, which turns out to be Japanese. It ranks with the invention of the ice cream cone at the St. Louis fair of 1904.

Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan have performed a service in giving us such an attractive reminder of this ephemeral event.

CHS

The Ides of September: The Story of Patrick Bryan, Early Californian.

By Wilbert V. Dunne. (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1993, 63 pp., \$8.95 paper.)

Reviewed by James P. Walsh, dean, College of Social Sciences, San Jose State University, and co-author (with Timothy J. O'Keefe) of Legacy of a Native Son: James Duval Phelan and Villa Montalvo.

The Patrick Bryan story is a well-written and successful sample of family history. Wilbert V. Dunne, like his subject, is an attorney. Primary sources are limited to family letters and an early-twentieth-century interview. The story's conclusion leaves the reader wanting just a bit more.

Bryan enjoyed a legal education in Dublin, Ireland, but emigrated in 1845, unable to establish a practice at home in Tullamore. In New York he enlisted for the war with Mexico and sailed for Monterey via Rio de Janeiro, Cape Horn, Valparaiso, and Hawaii. For Bryan, the war was a social experience and an economic opportunity. Monterey initiated his acculturation. And so fluid became the California of the subsequent Gold Rush that many immigrants like Bryan moved with ease and functioned with commanding success.

By demobilization time, he had networked with other Irish entrepreneurs in San Francisco. His patron, a restaurateur and real-estate developer, William O'Brien, drew Bryan into Nob Hill properties and introduced him to California Supreme Court Justice David S. Terry. The results included a highly profitable and exciting legal career. His one indulgence, horse breeding, led to brief happiness and ultimate California despair.

Monterey became Bryan's escape from the demands and unpleasantness of San Francisco-in-the-making. There he courted María Sánchez, a well-educated adoptee of a local family. Their formal engagement promised stability and happiness. While riding together, however, the young woman fell from her horse and died. Bryan's adjustment was slow and unsuccessful. In 1889 he inventoried and sold his assets and returned to Ireland, taking with him twelve of his favorite horses and several million dollars.

So brief a book, it focuses sharply on the central figure. The California context is limited and shallow. The family history research methods that captured this thirty-eight-year California sojourn faltered at the task of recording the remaining Irish years of Bryan's life. Scholars of Ireland's local history could have helped.

CHS



Andrew Furuseth (1854–1938).
Courtesy Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

The Abraham Lincoln of the Sea: A Biography of Andrew Furuseth.

By Arnold Berwick. (Santa Cruz, CA.: Odin Press, 1993, vii, 158 pp., \$19.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Norman Lederer, dean of General and Developmental Education, Thaddeus Stevens State School of Technology, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The lot of the merchant mariner throughout history has been an unpleasant one. The sailor's condition improved, however, thanks to the arduous efforts of Andrew Furuseth and other nineteenth-century reformers. Living conditions on board ship today are tolerable on United States-owned vessels, although the number of such ships has shrunk almost to the vanishing point.

Born one of ten children to a dam caretaker in Norway, Furuseth, like so many of his equally impoverished countrymen,

fled his home environment to ship out to a better life. The young man soon discovered, however, that in shedding the chains of agrarian poverty he had exchanged them for the iron bands of wage slavery forged in the hell-holes that constituted nineteenth-century merchant shipping.

The nineteenth-century sailor, as graphically described in Arnold Berwick's book, lived amid conditions of danger, discomfort, and servitude so onerous as to keep ships' crews in a perpetually mutinous mood. Each sailor was compelled to sign articles of agreement in order to be hired on a ship, and through this document was legally ensnared to remain as a member of the crew for the duration of the voyage "come hell or high water." If the merchant mariner jumped ship, all of the apparatus of the law operated to return him to his vessel, where he was subject to the not-so-tender mercies of the captain and the first mate, who could punish the wayward crew member with impunity to within an inch of his life or even further. If the sailor was exceptional enough to avoid physical harm at the hands of the ship's officers, he was still subject to miserable living quarters, abysmal food, and a lack of even elemental regard for his well-being or even continued existence.

On shore, the merchant mariner was still a victim. Unscrupulous "crimps" acted as middlemen between the ships' captains and the boardinghouse operators, steering the sailors by fair means or foul to stinking hovels, where the boardinghouse keepers stripped the mariners of what was left of their dearly bought wages after the bartenders and the prostitutes had obtained their shares. The especially unlucky sailor would find himself en route to "Shanghai" after being treated to a number of drinks at the waterfront saloons and awakening to find himself bound and gagged on board a ship that now boasted a full crew roster.

Despite all, however, the majority of sailors stuck to their occupation, willing to take their chances with perils that they knew rather than venturing into the dark and forbidding environments of the factory on shore. It was the task of reformers such as Furuseth to improve the lot of mariners as they stood, rather than to persuade them to change to other less onerous (and less exciting) forms of proletarian endeavor.

Andrew Furuseth emerged as an advocate of sailors' rights out of the anonymity of ships' crews in the mid-1880s. Learning English, but always speaking with a heavy Norwegian accent, Furuseth came to California and became vocally active in the nascent labor unions after 1890, seeking to instill a collective consciousness in the psyches of highly individualistic

mariners. Interestingly enough, given Furuseth's almost rabid anti-communism in later years, his first involvement in mariner unionism was under the auspices of an offshoot of Marx's International Workingman's Association. From the 1880s until his death in 1938, the Norwegian reformer remained a staunch trade unionist, albeit of a narrow craft orientation, with little sympathy for the radical political types attracted to aiding the sailors' cause, whether from the Industrial Workers of the World or the American Communist Party. Furuseth was a rigid "bread-and-butter" unionist who eschewed social change in favor of immediate, tangible economic gains for his fellow workers, an attitude that endeared him to the hearts of conservative union leaders such as Samuel Gompers.

The climax of Furuseth's war to free the seamen came in 1915 with the signing into law of the LaFollette Seaman's Act. The reformer was a close friend of the fiery Wisconsin Progressive, who championed the sailors' cause along with many others in the first part of the twentieth century. Furuseth shared in LaFollette's glory in this great legislative triumph, becoming nationally famous as the advocate of the mariners' cause.

Unfortunately, Furuseth's life after the passage of the LaFollette Act was anticlimactic. The remaining twenty years or so witnessed a disheartening decline in his popularity among increasingly militant and industrially oriented seamen. By the time of his death, Furuseth was alone and largely discredited by the new generation of labor unionists.

Berwick's work represents the devoted labor of an amateur historian enraptured by the saga of a fellow Norwegian American and Californian, whose efforts bettered the lot of thousands of men and women. Popular in intent rather than scholarly, the author's biography eschews scholarly apparatus, such as a bibliography or footnotes. An index is also lacking. In Berwick's analysis of Furuseth's struggles with the IWW and the Communist Party, he shows little awareness of scholarship in the history of the American Left.

But, withal, Berwick's book is well worth reading as a sensitive rendering of the life story of a lonely, austere "true believer," whose dedication to the cause of the American sailor was total. Nothing—not marriage nor family nor monetary gain—stood in the way of Furuseth's pursuit of his goals. Berwick does justice to his memory in this highly readable biography. CHS



Joan London with her father, ca. 1905, from an image that appears in her posthumously published biography, *Jack London and His Daughters*. Courtesy Heyday Books.

Jack London and His Daughters.

By Joan London. Introduction by Bart Abbott. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1990, vi, 184 pp., illus., \$19.95 cloth, \$10.95 paper.)

My Daddy Jack London—Dedicated to the Memory of Becky London, 1902–1992.

By Becky London. Interview with Russ Kingman. (Glen Ellen: The Jack London Foundation, 1993, audio cassette, \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Earle Labor, Wilson Professor of American Literature at Centenary College of Louisiana and co-editor of The Letters of Jack London and The Complete Short Stories of Jack London.

Biographies often reveal more about the biographers than about their subjects, and such is surely the case with these two accounts of Jack London by his daughters, Joan and Becky. "Reminiscences" is perhaps the more accurate term for both these fascinating biographical memoirs.

The account by Joan, the elder daughter, who was born January 15, 1901, three days after Jack's twenty-fifth birthday (she says he was doubly disappointed because he had prayed for a

boy to be born on his own birthday), is a far cry from her remarkably dispassionate *Jack London and His Times: An Unconventional Biography* (1939). *Jack London and His Daughters* is, by contrast, an agonizing *cri de coeur*. As her son Bart Abbott explains in his introduction, this book—at least forty years gestating—“was a search for personal answers more than a daughter’s public recollections of a famous author.” The central question of her search—like that of many children who suffer the emotional consequences of broken marriages—was, “Did Daddy really love me?”

“Of course he did!” is the answer poignantly whispered throughout her book—and clearly proclaimed in the series of lovingly captioned baby pictures taken by the proud young father and bound together in the album “Joan, Her Book.” But his love was strangled by the mutually shared hatred that grew like an insidious cancer in his relationship with his ex-wife during the years following their divorce.

Joan died, in fact, from cancer in 1971, leaving her quest and her memoirs unfinished. Chances are that even if she had lived another twenty years, however, she still might not have found the answer she sought. Blinded by her allegiance to her mother, she was incapable of fully confronting the truths of Bessie London’s character, particularly the consequences of her stubborn pride—a pride that forbade her two daughters from ever visiting their father on his prized ranch in the Valley of the Moon, for fear they might somehow be corrupted by Charmian (“The Beauty,” as Bessie always sarcastically called her), who had stolen her husband. “No, I cannot question my mother’s sincerity, nor will I assail as false the strongly held principles that Charmian had violated years before. That Mother consistently chose, at no matter what cost, what she honestly believed to be best for her daughters is impossible to doubt. She was a good mother, gentle, loyal and devoted; a generous, open-hearted woman whose special gifts and skills I admired and respected.”

The image portrayed by Bessie’s younger daughter—recorded in an interview by Russ Kingman, executor of the Jack London Foundation, shortly before her ninetieth birthday—differs significantly from Joan’s. “My mother was a rather cold individual, and a very hard woman to get along with,” Becky recalls. “That was the reason she and my father never got along. Daddy wanted company and liked to do things on impulse. Mother didn’t like company—she liked guests maybe once a year and liked to plan out everything. They were as different as chalk and cheese.” Bessie resolved to play the role of “the professional martyr,” according to Becky, regardless of the impact upon her daughters’ chances for happiness. “I think Mother kept us away

from the Ranch because she was afraid we’d like Daddy better than we liked her.”

Becky, unlike her sister, wrote no books; however, she did give us—along with several recorded interviews—a series of “Memories of Daddy” published in *Jack London Echoes* in the early 1980s (and available through the Jack London Research Center in Glen Ellen). These articles complement, as well as corroborate, her taped comments. Although the girls could not visit their father’s ranch, Jack was allowed to take them around Oakland. “It was always wonderful and lots of fun to go places with Daddy,” writes Becky (and on this issue her recollections are in total agreement with her sister’s). “He seemed to enjoy wherever we went or whatever we did as much as Joan and I did. Unlike some adults, Daddy never ‘talked down’ to us. . . . He was interested in everything we did. He asked endless questions about our school life and play life. . . . No part of our day-to-day existence lacked interest for him. This, I have since decided, was to get us used to talking, to learn how to express ourselves clearly and interestingly.”

In this last respect, while his reputation as a father remains perhaps more problematical than his reputation as one of America’s great world authors, Jack London must be accounted an unqualified success. Notwithstanding their widely divergent viewpoints, both of his daughters learned how to express themselves “clearly and interestingly.” There is surely much that we—parents as well as readers and London fans—may learn from his example. CHS

Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles.

By Raphael J. Sonenshein. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, xxii, 301 pp.)

Reviewed by Gerald Horne, professor of black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956.

This is a worthwhile and useful book for all interested in the history of the City of Angels. Its strength rests in its use and analysis of election returns and electoral polls. The author covers heavily the post-1961 period. It is rich in detail and, inevitably, focuses on Tom Bradley.

Because it is such a useful and revealing text, it is even more important to examine Professor Sonenshein's handiwork. For as he states correctly on page 13, there has been a "general inattention to Los Angeles in urban studies."

The title does not actually capture what rests at the heart of this work, and that is the relationship between blacks and the Jewish community. Again, to his credit, Sonenshein acknowledges that Euro-American elites in the decades following the 1840s in southern California often were more hostile to Mexicans and Chinese than to blacks and Jews.

Strikingly, the author often disaggregates the Jewish community from the overall "white" community: "Blacks, Latinos and Jews—the pillars of police reform—were the backbone of Proposition F, but whites were also generally in support" (p. 224). This approach allows him to focus intently on a comparison between New York City and Los Angeles in an adept example of comparative urban studies.

Sonenshein is sensitive to the errors and excesses of black nationalism; he is not as deft in judging similar tendencies in the Jewish community or even the "white liberal" community (his term). The book would have benefitted as well if the author had gone further and examined separately the "white"—or as is said in L.A., "Anglo"—Catholic, and other Euro-American groupings.

Another theme of this work is the real and imagined tension that has existed between Bradley and former assemblyman and congressman Mervyn Dymally, who happened to be a native of Trinidad. The author seeks to argue that there were factions in the black community that were "along class lines and placed the Bradley forces on the progressive left of the moderate Dymally regulars tied to Jesse Unruh" (p. 216). This analysis may have been accurate in the 1960s, but the author at times does not stress sufficiently that by the 1980s this had changed some-

what. One need only recall a movement that is not mentioned in this book, though it has been an important element in black politics in Los Angeles for at least the past two decades: the anti-apartheid movement. It is well known that Dymally was more sympathetic and much closer to this movement than Bradley.

It is not difficult to see that Dymally's role as representative of a mostly black district and Bradley's role as mayor of a city that at best may have had a black population of twenty percent helps to explain why the former could speak out more vocally on some issues and, thereby, contrary to the author's assertion, in fact operate to the left of the latter.

Nevertheless, the author's analysis of the black community is enlightening. He avers, "In one of the supreme ironies of emerging Los Angeles, inner city Black leaders are increasingly in the position once held by the Jewish community of New York City—holding political and social sway with declining numbers over new minorities. The resultant tensions may lead to conflicts not dissimilar from those in New York" (p. 254). Certainly this perception is helpful in analyzing the rise of both Bradley and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown of San Francisco.

The evolution of "white liberals" in New York City is a prime point made by the author as he seeks to explain why that metropolis has lagged behind L.A. in electing blacks to citywide office and other relevant indices. New York's "very progressivism created a vast network of programs employing many white liberals. As poor and minority people sought to improve their power positions in the city, they inevitably came up against white liberals in positions of power over them" (p. 233). The sub-textual question is what this may mean in a post-Bradley L.A. for African Americans.

When the author finally calls for more attention by scholars to a "western model of biracial politics," one can only agree. With this point, Raphael Sonenshein only serves to confirm that this is a book well worth attention beyond the community of scholars.

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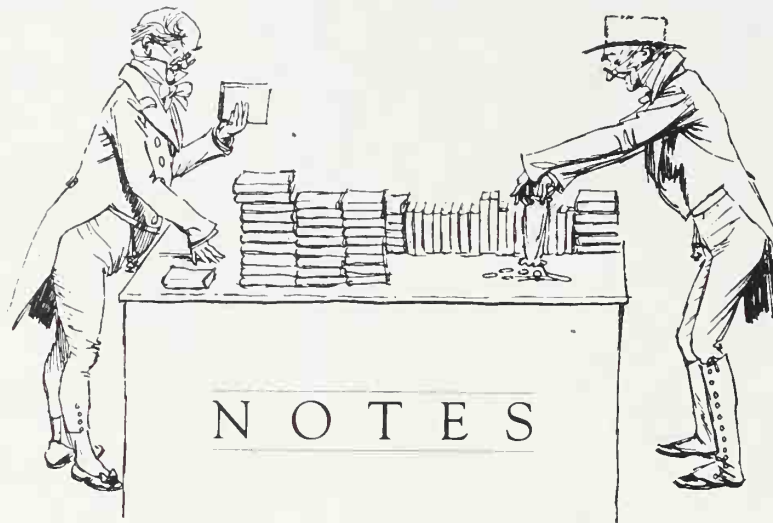
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NOTES

Limerick, "Real Californian," pp. 262-277.

1. Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 32-33.
2. Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1909), 29 and 95.
3. *Ibid.*, 182 and 441.
4. *Ibid.*, 458, 489, 495-96.
5. *Ibid.*, 456 and 457.
6. Victoria Post Ranney, Gerard J. Rauluk, and Carolyn F. Hoffman, eds., *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmstead: The California Frontier, 1863-1865*, Vol. V (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 100 and 220.
7. *Ibid.*, 679 and 207.
8. *Ibid.*, 263 and 753.
9. John Gregory Dunne, "The Secret Life of Danny Santiago," *New York Review of Books* (August 16, 1984): 17-20, 22, 24-27. Quotations are from page 25. The book under discussion was Danny Santiago, *Famous All Over Town* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983).
10. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "'Authenticity,' or the Lesson of Little Tree," *New York Times Book Review* (November 24, 1991): 1 and 30.
11. *Ibid.*, 30.
12. Darius Stokes, at the First State Convention of the Colored Citizens of California, 1855, quoted in Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*, 25.

St. Clair, "New Almaden," pp. 278-295.

1. For a description of the Patio Process and the problems encountered with mercury shortages and high mercury prices in colonial Mexico and Peru, see P.J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), especially chapters 6-8, and D.A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52 (November 1972): 545-79.

This paper was originally presented at the 47th Annual California History Institute ("California and the Pacific Rim: Past, Present, Future"), University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, May 1994. The author wishes to thank the California History Institute and the conference organizers, Dr. Ron Limbaugh, Dr. Dennis O. Flynn, and Mr. Arturo Giraldez. In addition, helpful comments and assistance were received from Ms. Leslie Masunaga, archivist at the San Jose Historical Museum, and Ms. Kitty Monahan, president of the New Almaden Quicksilver County Park Association. Their help is appreciated. Any remaining shortcomings in the article are mine alone.

2. For a description of the Washoe Process, see Grant H. Smith, *The History of the Comstock Lode, 1850-1920*, University of Nevada Bulletin No. 3, Geology and Mining Series No. 37, July 1, 1943, pp. 41-45.
3. Calculated from U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1887*, Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 125. These figures do not include production at the Kwei-Chan quicksilver mines in China. Quicksilver had been produced at Kwei-Chan for centuries, but output figures are not available. The Kwei-Chan mines were generally characterized as inefficient and unable to satisfy Chinese demand for quicksilver. For a description and history of major quicksilver mining regions of the world, see Leonard J. Goldwater, *Mercury: A History of Quicksilver* (Baltimore, Md.: York Press, 1972).
4. Bakewell, 150-80.
5. Henry W. Splitter, "Quicksilver at New Almaden," *Pacific Historical Review* XXV (February 1947): 41.
6. U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1887*, 125. For a discussion of the effects of record California production in the 1870s on the Rothschild cartel, see Donald C. Brown, "The New Almaden Quicksilver Mines, 1824-1890" (Master's thesis, San Jose State College, 1958), 82. See Gold-

water, 40 and 68, for a description of the Rothschild cartel.

7. California Miners' Association, *California Mines and Minerals* (San Francisco: Louis Roesch Company, 1899), 430.
8. This claim can be found in Jimmie Schneider, *Quicksilver: The Complete History of Santa Clara County's New Almaden Mine* (San Jose, Calif.: Zella Schneider, 1992), ix.
9. *San Francisco Mining and Scientific Press*, January 23, 1875. Reprinted in Rossiter W. Raymond, *Statistics of Mines and Mining in the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), 14.
10. Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1947), 273.
11. Goldwater, 48.
12. Schneider, 115-17.
13. Splitter, 34.
14. Mrs. S. A. Downer, "The Quicksilver Mine of New Almaden," *The Pioneer*; or, *California Monthly Magazine* II (October 1854). Reprinted in Elisabeth L. Eganhoff, *De Argento Vivo: Historic Documents on Quicksilver and Its Recovery in California Prior to 1860*, Supplement to the *California Journal of Mines and Geology* (October 1953), 113-23. Citations are to the reprint.
15. *Ibid.*, 123.
16. Schneider, 21.
17. *Ibid.*, 40.
18. Splitter, 33.
19. Brown, 85.
20. Splitter, 36.
21. Goldwater, 48.
22. Splitter, 37-38.
23. The following account of the discovery of quicksilver at New Almaden is drawn from Schneider, 9-18. With the exception of the story of the padres' suppressing knowledge of quicksilver at the cave, Splitter is in essential agreement with Schneider's account.
24. See, for example, Bakewell's account on p. 143 of the difficulties encountered with an ore called antimony (antimonia), from which silver could not be extracted until copper was added to the amalgam mix.
25. Schneider, 13.

26. Ibid., 17–18.
 27. Ibid., 19. The following account of the ownership dispute is drawn from Schneider, 27–38. A fuller account can be found in Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine* (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1963).
 28. The comments of United States Attorney General Jeremiah Black are found in Schneider, 30–31. Lincoln's ill-advised order to seize the mine is discussed in Schneider, 37, and Johnson, 79–89. The court injunction closed the mine from October 30, 1858, until January 1861. However, production records show that New Almaden did record sales of quicksilver during the period of the injunction. The record is not clear if this was production in defiance of the injunction or permitted sales from stock. Figures for these years are consistently found in the record and are included in Table 3. The timing of sales versus production accounts for exports exceeding production in 1861. Consignment sales were especially troublesome in this regard.
 29. Some quicksilver sent to New York was shipped west to Colorado mines, since it was easier to ship via New York rather than directly from San Francisco or San Jose. But most of the New York shipments were destined for the vermilion industry.
 30. Brown, 80–82 and 118–20, describes the effects of California output on the Rothschild cartel and attempts to coordinate output with California producers. Schneider, 119, also describes efforts by the Rothschild cartel to come to an agreement with California producers in 1881. All of these attempts failed.
 31. U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1885*, Department of the Interior, United States Geological Survey (Washington, D.C.: 1986), 501–502.
 32. Smith, 43.
 33. Ibid., 257.
 34. Rossiter W. Raymond, *Mineral Resources of the States and Territories* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), 10.
 35. Smith, 254.
 36. Brading and Cross, 562. Bakewell also stressed the importance of quicksilver availability and price in colonial Mexico.
- Cherny, "San Francisco Visions," pp. 296–307.
1. Sally B. Woodbridge and John M. Woodbridge, *Architecture: San Francisco: The Guide* (San Francisco: 101 Productions for American Institute of Architects, San Francisco Chapter, 1982), 12.
 - This paper was originally prepared for *The Envisioned City: Dream, Design, and Reality in the Creation of San Francisco, 1865–1990*, a symposium sponsored by the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, as part of the exhibition *Visionary San Francisco*, June 30, 1990.
 2. James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1888), 2:375.
 3. Julian Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco: A Study of Ralston's Journey with Banners* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936); David Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco* (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1975). Other biographical treatments include: George D. Lyman, *Ralston's Ring: California Plunders the Comstock Lode* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937; New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1971); and Cecil G. Tilton, *William Chapman Ralston: Courageous Builder* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, c. 1935).
 4. The summary of Ralston's career in this paragraph and the paragraphs that follow draws most heavily upon Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, and Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco*.
 5. For this account of Ralston's career, I have relied primarily on Lavender and Dana, and for the Palace Hotel on Oscar Lewis and Carroll D. Hall, *Bonanza Inn: America's First Luxury Hotel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1939; New York: Ballantine Books Inc., 1971).
 6. Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, esp. 13–15.
 7. Lavender, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 198–99.
 8. This survey of Phelan's influence on the development of San Francisco was completed before the appearance of James P. Walsh and Timothy J. O'Keefe, *Legacy of a Native Son: James Duval Phelan and Villa Montalvo* (Los Gatos, Calif.: Forbes Mill Press, 1993). Nothing in it contradicts these conclusions, however, and some of the authors' findings provide interesting supplements, especially regarding Phelan's activities as a patron of the arts.
 9. Robert E. Hennings, *James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 3.
 10. Daniel H. Burnham, *Report on a Plan for San Francisco*, facsimile reprints of the 1906 plan (Berkeley: Urban Books, 1971), 36.
 11. Ibid., 37ff.
 12. Ibid., 43. Had his population projections and park proposals both been realized, population densities in the residential areas of the city today would have to be nearly four times their present levels.
 13. Ibid., 180.
 14. Ibid., 42–43.
 15. This survey is based on Daniel Burnham, *Report on a Plan for San Francisco* (San Francisco: Sunset Press, 1905; reprint, Berkeley: Urban Books, 1971); Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); Judd Kahn, *Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897–1906* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).
 16. James D. Phelan, *The New San Francisco: Address at the Opening of the Mechanics' Institute Fair, Sept. 1, 1896* (pamphlet, 1896; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).
 17. Phelan, *New San Francisco*, 8.
 18. William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 153.
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 21. Phelan, *New San Francisco*, 12.
 22. See, e.g., Kahn, *Imperial San Francisco*, 75–79.
 23. Burnham, *Report*, 145.
 24. Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco*, 147–49.
 25. See, e.g., James D. Phelan, "Debate on the Chinese Question," in *Addresses* (San Francisco: Cubery and Company, 1901), esp. 57.
 26. Phelan, quoted in Hennings, *Phelan and the Wilson Progressives*, 41.
 27. Hennings, *Phelan and the Wilson Progressives*, 136–37, 152.
 28. Phelan, 1920, quoted in Hennings, *Phelan and the Wilson Progressives*, 183.
 29. Hennings, *Phelan and the Wilson Progressives*, 194.
 30. *San Francisco Examiner*, Oct. 13, 1934, p. 15.
 31. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 13, 1934, p. 3.
 32. Perles, *The People's Railway*, esp. chs. 3–5.
 33. O'Shaughnessy never set down all these elements in one vision for the Municipal Railway. They are distilled from A. J. Cleary, "The Municipal Engineering Works of San Francisco," *Engineering News* 73 (Feb. 18, 1915): 289–336, esp. 322–24; M.M. O'Shaughnessy, *The Hetch Hetchy Water and Power Project, [The Municipal Railway], and Other Notable Civic Improvements of San Francisco* (pamphlet, 1921; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley); and the following reports by O'Shaughnessy as city engineer, Bureau of Engineering, Department of Public Works, City and County of San Francisco: *The Municipal Railway of San Francisco: 1912–1921* (1921), esp. 3–4; *Report on the Street Railway Transportation Requirements of San Francisco with Special Consideration to the Unification of Existing Facilities* (1929), esp. 175; and *Report on Rapid Transit Plans for the City of San Francisco with Special Consideration to a Subway Under Market Street* (1931).
 34. There were additional bond issues in 1932 and 1933 to complete the initial system.
 35. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 13, 1934, p. 3; Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco*, 174–76, 182–85.

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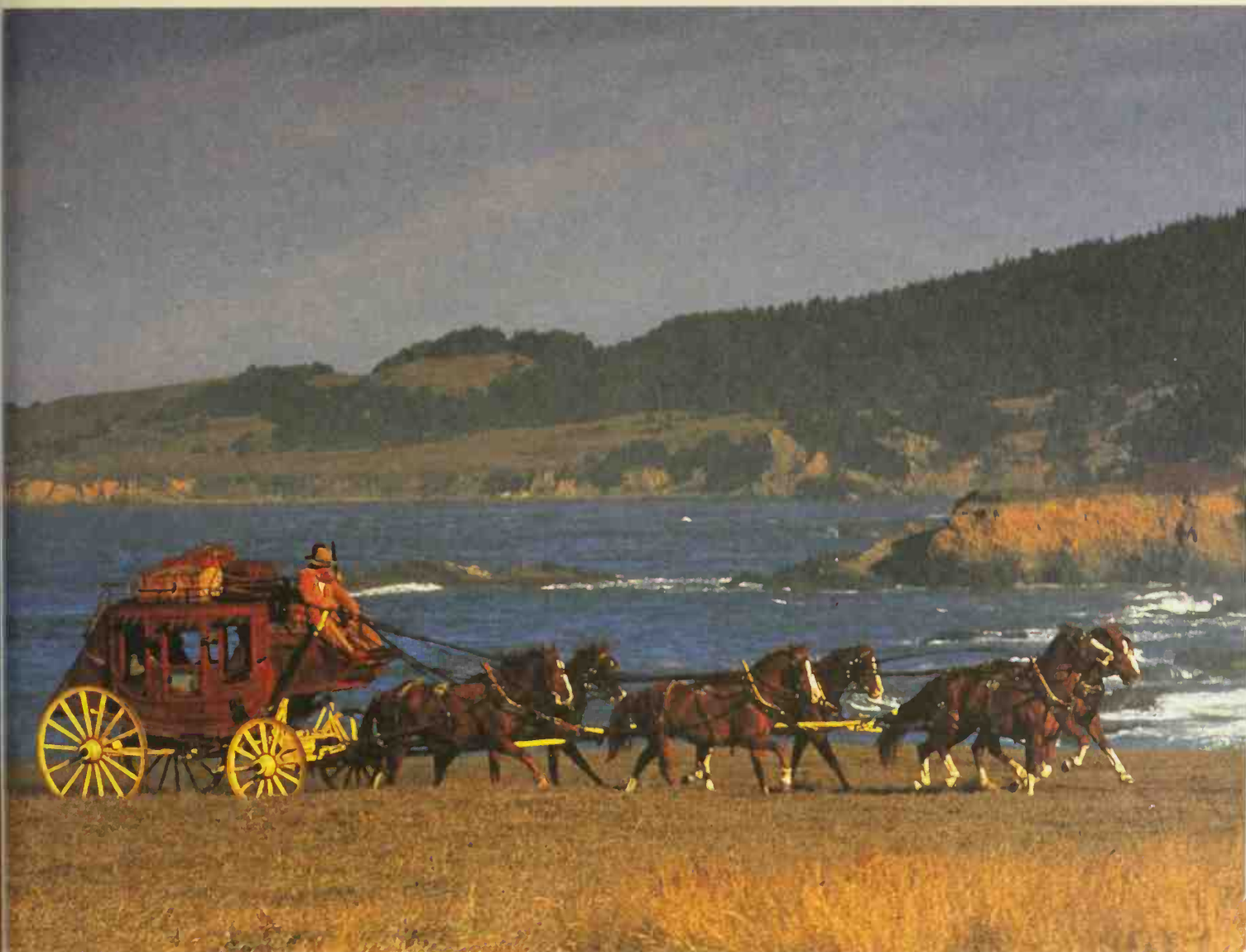
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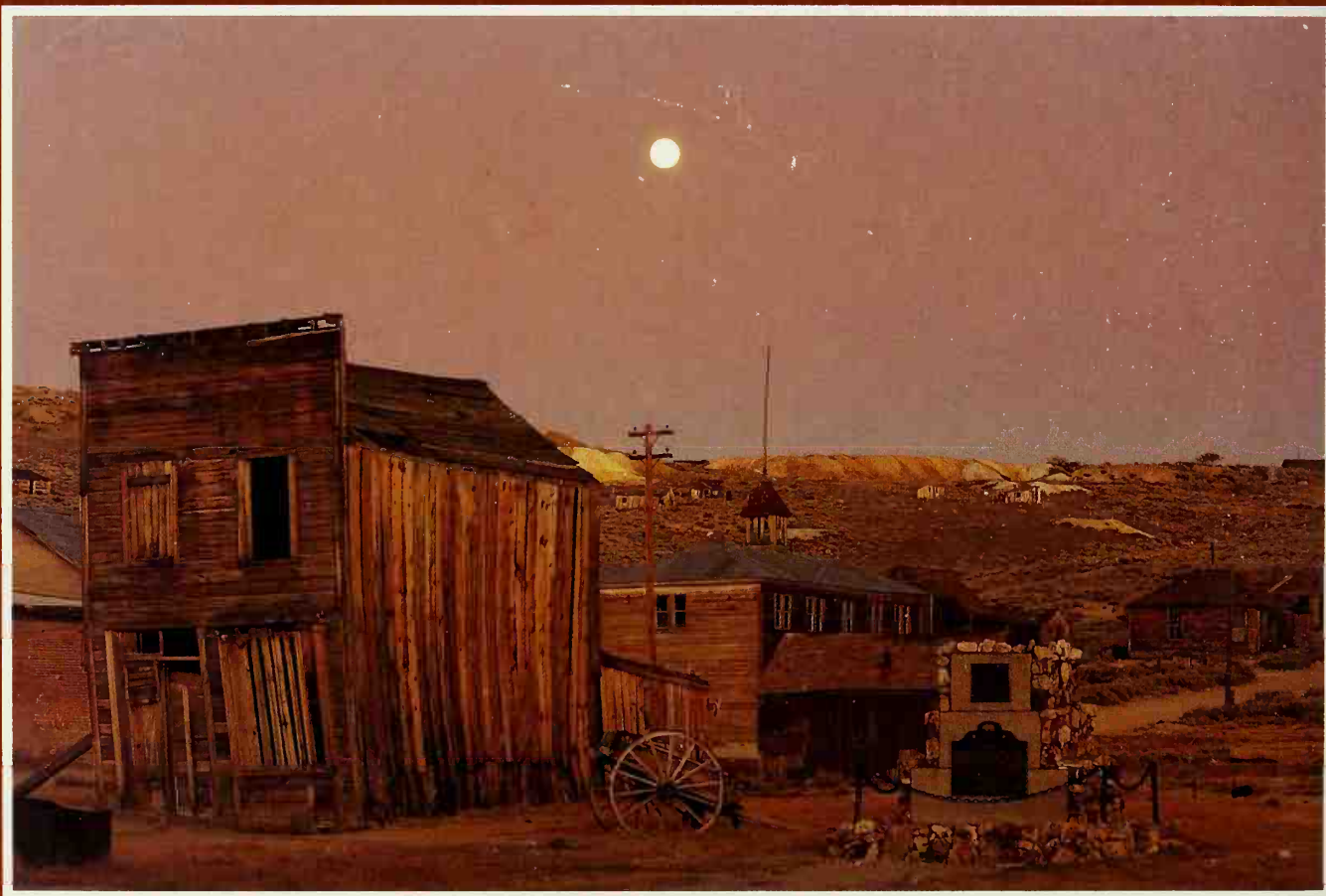


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